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# Southeast Asia Report

No. 1303

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 4, April 1983

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Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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UNITY IS THE FACTOR DETERMINING EACH VICTORY OF THE THREE COUNTRIES OF LAOS, KAMPUCHEA AND VIETNAM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 83 pp 1-5

[Editorial]

[Text] Living together on a peninsula that occupies an important strategic position, the three nations of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam have, since antiquity, always had to deal with larger powers committing aggression against them from the outside, primarily the feudal groups of China and Thailand. It was in this relationship that the tradition "the whole leaf covers the torn leaf" originated among the peoples of these three countries. History still records beautiful examples of militant solidarity between the Vietnamese and the Khmer against the aggressor army of the House of Duong in the 8th Century; between the Khmer and the Lao against the aggression by the Thai feudalists in the 14th Century; between the Vietnamese and the Lao against the aggression of the House of Minh in the 15th Century; between Vietnam and Kampuchea and between Vietnam and Laos in the resistance against the invasions by the feudal powers of Thailand in the 17th, 18th and 19th Centuries.

Since the mid-19th Century, the people of these three countries have united together to fight Western imperialism. The French colonialists, the Japanese fascists and the U.S. imperialists invaded the three countries of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos and attempted to use these countries as springboards for the annexation of other countries, ultimately turning these three countries into a common battlefield. Following in the tracks of the overturned vehicles of the imperialists and colonialists, the reactionary powers within Chinese ruling circles schemed to turn Kampuchea into a springboard for annexing Indochina and expanding into Southeast Asia. Their aggression against Vietnam in February, 1979 was also designed to achieve this objective. In the face of this situation, the people of the three countries had no other choice but to unite, to turn Indochina into a common battlefield fighting aggression.

Ever since the Marxist-Leninist parties were born and began leading the cause of liberating the three nations, the militant solidarity among these three countries has been raised to a new level and become the factor determining the victory of the revolution of the three countries.

After the people of the three countries won brilliant victory in the resistance against the United States for national salvation in 1975 and after they began to thwart the scheme of the reactionary powers within Chinese ruling circles to use Kampuchea as a springboard from which to annex Indochina and expand into Southeast Asia, the militant solidarity among the three nations of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea reached another new stage of development. The relations among Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are relations among independent, sovereign and equal countries that unite and cooperate with one another. These relations do not threaten any country and are consistent with international law and the United Nations Charter. They are also relations among countries that have the same social system and ideals. The relations among the three countries are based on Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. They are guided by the principles of equality, friendship, respect for one another's independence and sovereignty and mutual cooperation in the fraternal spirit. The three countries, which are geographically similar and whose histories are similar in several respects, have often united in fights against common enemies many times more powerful. These factors have created the special bond in the relations among the three nations of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam.

The first high level conference of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam held in Vientiane on 22 and 23 February 1983 was a new and very important milestone along the road of the unity and cooperation among the three countries; at the same time, it marked the growth of the revolution of each country. The conference issued the Declaration on the Principles Guiding the Relations Among the Three Countries of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam. The conference pointed out that following many years of fighting and dying for their independence and freedom, the three nations have but one desire, to achieve unity and cooperation among the three countries for the purposes of helping one another to build and defend their countries and contribute to the maintenance of peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the world, not for the purpose of opposing any country. Since World War II, at a time when virtually every other nation in the world was enjoying the longest period of peace in this century, the three nations of Kampuchea, Laos and Vietnam were experiencing extremely violent wars and even today the gunfire has not completely stopped on the Indochina peninsula. Having experienced more than 30 years of war and endured untold sacrifices and hardships, the people of the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have no greater aspiration than to live in peace so that they can build prosperous and happy lives. The present unity and struggle of the people of the three countries have the purposes of restoring peace and stability to the Indochina peninsula, maintaining the independence and freedom of the three nations and contributing to the maintenance of peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the world. These objectives are in no way in opposition to anyone. We sincerely desire the development of good neighborly relations, good relations of friendship based on the principles of peaceful coexistence with the countries that have different political systems. We desire an end to the present opposition and tension between the three countries of Indochina and neighboring countries, primarily China and a few countries in Southeast Asia. The aspirations for peace and cooperation of the people of the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are consistent with trend of our times;

therefore, they have the sympathy and support of the socialist countries and progressive mankind.

As independent, sovereign and totally equal states, the three countries of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam pledge to strengthen their unity and cooperation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. Every matter pertaining to the relations among the three countries will be resolved by means of negotiations based on respect for one another's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, be resolved without intervening in one another's internal affairs and be resolved in the spirit of knowing one another, respecting the legitimate interests of each country and acting in the interests of all three nations. For the sake of their survival, the three nations of Indochina, which united closely in the past, will forever unite and cooperate with one another in the future in the fraternal spirit. This unity and cooperation are based on respect for one another's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Without unity and cooperation, the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country will be threatened. Conversely, if we do not respect one another's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity or if we intervene in one another's internal affairs, there can be no true or permanent unity and cooperation and might not even be any unity or cooperation at all. Unity-cooperation and respect for the independence and sovereignty of each country, these are the two aspects of the foreign policy based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Lenin once pointed out: "On the one hand, we fully recognize the absolute right of self-determination of all nations and will accept no incorrect explanation of this right; on the other hand, we appeal just as clearly for workers to achieve international unity in their class struggle."(12)

On the basis of the strategic tasks of building prosperous countries and bringing comfort and happiness back to the people, the three countries pledge to develop bilateral or trilateral permanent cooperation and mutual assistance in every area in the spirit of fraternal friendship, totally voluntary participation, equality and mutual benefit. The present situation on the Indochina peninsula is one in which the reactionary powers within Chinese ruling circles, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists, have not abandoned their scheme of expansion and hegemony concerning the three nations of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam. They are continuing to use the Pol Pot genocidal clique and all types of counter-revolutionaries in a multi-faceted war of sabotage against the three countries of Indochina. As a result, the people of the three countries must unite and cooperate in the struggle against the common enemy to protect their independence and freedom, protect their security and happiness. On the other hand, following centuries of exploitation and plundering by the imperialists and colonialists and following many decades of ruinous war, the economies of the three countries are poor and backward and the living conditions of the people are underdeveloped. One pressing task faced now is to rapidly heal the wounds of the war, rebuild the country and gradually improve the standard of living of the people.

The revolution of the three countries of Indochina has entered a new period. The people of the three countries must continue to cooperate and fight to protect their independence and freedom while cooperating to build their

countries, that is, they must cooperate in every field: politics, economics, cultural work, science, technology and so forth. With their rich natural resources and abundant labor, the people of the three countries will, by cooperating, surely record large achievements in their work of building their countries.

The struggle of the people of the three countries of Indochina is an integral part of the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in the world. Consequently, strengthening the unity and comprehensive cooperation between the three countries of Indochina and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is an indispensable law of history. Unity and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist community assume even greater importance in the present situation, in which the U.S. imperialists are urgently pursuing the arms race, creating a tense situation and threatening the destiny of mankind and the reactionary powers within Chinese ruling circles, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists, have not abandoned their scheme of expansion and annexation concerning the three countries of Indochina. This will help each country on this peninsula develop its own strength and coordinate the combined strength of the three countries with the combined strength of our times. It will create on the Indochina peninsula a stable strategic position--a strong factor of peace and stability in the region and the world.

The three countries of Indochina stand ready to develop good relations with neighboring countries and the countries that have different social systems on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

The high level conference of the three countries of Indochina attached special importance to strengthening the unity of the three nations against every devisive scheme of the enemy and every manifestation of big country nationalism and narrowminded nationalism. It is necessary to constantly educate the people of the three countries about the traditional friendship and the special relations among the people's of the three countries and teach them to oppose every action that harms the friendship among the peoples of the three countries.

Only by preventing every manifestation of big country nationalism and narrowminded nationalism and teaching genuine patriotism combined with proletarian internationalism is it possible to make the special relations among the three nations even more beautiful, pure and solid.

The imperialists and reactionaries have long been making a fuss over the issue of Vietnamese volunteer forces in Kampuchea. Turning the situation upside-down, they falsely accuse Vietnam of having sent troops to "invade" Kampuchea with a view toward concealing their own schemes of aggression and expansion.

Historic fact shows that in their long struggle to achieve independence and freedom, the people of the three countries of Indochina have always stood shoulder to shoulder in the fight against the common enemy. In the wars of resistance against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists, Vietnamese volunteer forces twice fought alongside the armed forces of the



Kampuchean people in Kampuchea and withdrew after France and the United States ended their wars of aggression.

When the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles used the Pol Pot clique to wage a genocidal war against the people of Kampuchea, commit aggression against Vietnam on its southwestern border and undermine the independence and security of Laos, Vietnamese volunteer forces, on the basis of the tradition of militant solidarity among the three countries of Indochina, exercising our sacred right of self-defense and in response to the request made by the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation, once again joined the people and revolutionary armed forces of Kampuchea in their fight, toppling the Pol Pot genocidal regime and defeating the scheme of aggression of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. This action was affirmed in the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea signed in February, 1979, in Phnom Penh.

This action is a just action that reflects the basic national rights of the people of each country and is totally consistent with the principles of the non-aligned movement and the United Nations Charter because it represents the right of countries to help one another deal with a threat of intervention and aggression from the outside and has never threatened any country.

Over the past several years, tremendous achievements have been recorded in the effort to bring the nation of Kampuchea back to life and the armed forces of Kampuchea have constantly grown. On the basis of this situation and adhering to the same unswerving stand, the high level conference of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam issued a Declaration Concerning the Vietnamese Volunteer Forces in Kampuchea, which clearly states: "All Vietnamese volunteer forces in Kampuchea will be withdrawn back to their country when the threat posed by the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles and the other reactionary powers...has completely ended." "Each year, a decision will be made to withdraw a number of Vietnamese volunteer forces from Kampuchea on the basis of examining Kampuchea's security situation"; "...a number of additional units of Vietnamese volunteer forces will be withdrawn from Kampuchea in 1983." "In the case that the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer forces from Kampuchea is used to once again oppose the peace and security of Kampuchea, the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea will exchange opinions with the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in accordance with the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation between the two countries."

This action reflects the good will and the desire for peace of the people of the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea; at the same time, it reflects unshakeable determination to join together in cooperating and fighting to maintain the independence, freedom and security of each country. This stand reflecting the brilliance of our just cause is a blow to the scheme of the imperialists and the reactionaries to distort the meaning of the presence of Vietnamese volunteer forces in Kampuchea.

Our people are excitedly celebrating the brilliant success of the high level conference of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam. Our people are determined to turn this excitement into action in order to build and defend our country and, at

the same time, make the unity and loyal friendship of the people of the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea increasingly beautiful and strong. As Kayson Phomvihan said in his opening address: "The strengthening of the unity and the comprehensive cooperation among our three countries is a matter of survival, is a law of development of the revolution of the three countries in the past, at present and in the long-range future."

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Volume 20, p 508.

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## THE DECLARATION OF THE HIGH LEVEL CONFERENCE OF LAOS, KAMPUCHEA AND VIETNAM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 83 pp 6-9

[Text] The high level conference of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was held on 22 and 23 February 1983 in Vientiane and involved an exchange of opinions concerning the situations of the three countries as well as the international situation. The conferees examined measures designed to strengthen the solidarity and comprehensive cooperation among the three countries in the cause of building socialism and defending the country. The parties issued the following declaration:

### Part I

For generations, the peoples of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam have lived amicably with one another and constantly cultivated their friendly relations through the struggle waged by each nation to survive.

In history, colonialist, militarist, imperialist and expansionist powers have intervened in and invaded the three countries. In the past as well as today, they considered and still consider these three countries to be a target of aggression and have used one country as a springboard to annex another, to divide and rule the three countries.

The history of the struggle of the three nations, especially since the great Uncle Ho brought the light of Marxism-Leninism to the revolution of the three countries of Indochina and founded the Indochinese Communist Party, the forerunner of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and the Vietnam Communist Party, has proven that the militant alliance and solidarity of the three nations are a law in the development of the revolution of the three countries and were a fundamental factor in winning victory over every enemy and winning the independence and freedom of each country. Whenever the solidarity of the three countries has been shattered, the independence of each country has been imperiled. The betrayal by the Pol Pot clique, the lackeys of the reactionaries powers within Beijing ruling circles, caused the people of Kampuchea to suffer the horrifying tragedies of genocide and intervention by the expansionist and reactionary powers, destroyed the fruits of the Kampuchean revolution,

seriously harmed the unity of the three nations and threatened the independence and security of Laos and Vietnam.

Under the leadership of the genuine revolutionary party of each country, the people of the three countries have, by means of their own flesh and blood, restored and strengthened the unity that is vital to their survival and are standing shoulder to shoulder, are cooperating with and helping one another to build their countries, advance to socialism, defend the fatherland and make positive contributions to the common struggle by the people of all countries for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

## Part II

At present, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and the other reactionary powers, are continuing to pursue their scheme of committing aggression against and annexing the three countries, conducting acts of sabotage in many different areas against the revolutions of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam and using the three countries as a springboard for achieving hegemony over all Southeast Asia.

The new situation and task demand that the people of the three countries strengthening their unity and comprehensive cooperation. In this spirit, the parties pledge:

1. To unite and cooperate with one another for the purpose of helping one another to build and defend their countries and contributing to the maintenance and peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the world, but not for the purpose of opposing any country.
2. To strengthen their unity and cooperation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. Every problem that pertains to the relations among the three countries will be resolved through negotiations on the basis of respecting one another's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, resolved without intervening in one another's internal affairs and resolved in the spirit of knowing one another, of respecting the legitimate interests of each country and acting in the interests of all three nations.
3. To develop long-range cooperation and bilateral or trilateral mutual assistance in every area in the spirit of fraternal friendship, completely voluntary association, equality and mutual benefit.
4. To strengthen the unity of the three nations against every devisive scheme of the enemy and every manifestation of big country nationalism and narrowminded nationalism; to constantly teach the people of the three countries about the traditional friendship and the especially close relations among the three nations and teach them to oppose every action that harms the friendship among the three nations.

The guiding principles presented above concerning the relations among the three countries of Indochina not only satisfy the interests of the people of the three countries and are consistent with the tradition of unity and friendship among the three nations through the ages, but are also totally

consistent with the international agreements concerning Indochina and the principles of the United Nations Charter and the non-aligned movement.

On the basis of these guiding principles, the parties have agreed:

1. A high level conference of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam will be convened after the leaders of the three countries have consulted one another through conferences of the foreign ministers of the three countries.
2. A conference of the foreign ministers of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam will be held twice a year to resolve every question that has arisen concerning the relations among the three countries during the period between one high level conference and the next.
3. A Laos-Kampuchea-Vietnam economic cooperation commission will be established within each country in order to promote economic cooperation and coordinate national economic development plans among the three countries. The three commissions will meet two times each year.
4. As permitted by conditions, committees on cooperation among the three countries can be established within the specialized economic, cultural, scientific-technical, physical education, sport and other sectors.
5. This declaration does not affect the bilateral or multilateral agreements and treaties that each country has signed.

### Part III

The three countries of Indochina, which are closely linked to one another within a great friendship, a special unity and comprehensive cooperation, in unity and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and in unity with the non-aligned countries, with the forces of peace and progress in the world, have surmounted the greatest of challenges and won brilliant victories, such as the ones they enjoy today, thereby making positive contributions to the struggle to achieve the common goals of our times, the goals of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The people of the three countries of Indochina, having endured more than three decades of a savage war, have no more ardent aspiration than to live in peace so that they can build their countries and build a life of prosperity and happiness. The people of the three countries of Indochina are determined to struggle, together with the socialist countries, the non-aligned countries and the peace and progress loving people of the world, to safeguard and strengthen peace, oppose the arms race and achieve military disarmament and international detente. The people of the three countries wholeheartedly welcome and totally support the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, especially the proposals presented at the Conference of the Political Consultation Commissions of the Warsaw Pact Member Countries in Prague in January, 1983.

The three countries of Indochina, which are united and practice comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, will make every

effort to contribute to the strengthening of the socialist community, the pillar of which is the Soviet Union; make every effort to support the national liberation and national independence movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and support the struggle for improved living conditions and democracy by the working class and laboring people as well as the struggle for peace being waged by the peoples of all countries; and strengthen their cooperation with the non-aligned countries in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, both old and new, expansionism and hegemony, racism, zionism and apartheid and the struggle for a new, just and reasonable international economic order. The three countries of Indochina wholeheartedly welcome the 7th High Level Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries that will be held in New Delhi in March, 1983, and believe that the success of this conference will contribute to the common struggle by nations for peace, national independence and social progress in the world.

The three countries of Indochina are ready to develop good relations with neighboring countries as well as with countries that have different political and social systems on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The people of the three countries of Indochina have a long-standing tradition of friendship with the people of China and always value this traditional friendship. The mutual assistance between the people of China and the people of the countries of Indochina in the struggle for the cause of revolution is an historic fact that no one can deny. The present abnormal situation in the relations that the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam have with the People's Republic of China was not caused by the three countries of Indochina. It has been the unswerving stand of the three countries of Indochina to spare no effort in the attempt to restore normal relations with the People's Republic of China on the basis of peaceful coexistence and satisfying the interests of the three countries of Indochina as well as those of the Chinese people.

In their relations with the ASEAN countries, the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam have, despite encountering many difficulties and obstacles posed by the international reactionaries over the past several years, steadfastly maintained a policy of peace, a policy of friendship and a good neighbor policy. Facts have proven that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the countries of Indochina and the ASEAN countries are an important factor in maintaining peace and stability in Southeast Asia. Every disagreement between the two groups of countries must be resolved by means of negotiations conducted in the spirit of being good neighbors, in the spirit of peaceful coexistence, cooperation and friendship with one another, the spirit of not allowing foreign countries to intervene and sow divisions, not allowing the territory of one's country to be used against another country and the spirit of working together to build a Southeast Asia of peace, stability and cooperation.

Attaching importance to friendship with the American people, the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam desire normal relations with the United States on the basis of equality, of respecting the independence, sovereignty and

territorial integrity and not intervening in the internal affairs of each country.

The people of the three countries of Indochina sincerely thank the Soviet Union, the fraternal socialist countries, the non-aligned countries, the international organizations and their friends throughout the world for the valuable support and assistance they have given to the just cause of the people of the three countries and firmly believe that this support and assistance will constantly increase in the future.

The struggle for the just cause being waged by the people of the three countries of Indochina, although still a difficult and complicated struggle, has never been stronger and has never faced such bright prospects. Brandishing the banner of peace and friendship and possessing the strength of the unity of the three nations combined with the strength of the three revolutionary currents of our times, the people of the three countries of Indochina will surely overcome every difficulty, meet every challenge, march forward and win new and larger victories in the work of building and defending their beloved fatherlands, thereby making worthy contributions to the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in Southeast Asia and throughout the world.

Vientiane  
23 February 1983

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CSO: 4210/9

## STATEMENT CONCERNING VIETNAMESE VOLUNTEER FORCES IN KAMPUCHEA

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 83 pp 10-12

[Text] In the history of their long struggle for independence and freedom, the people of the three countries of Indochina have always united with and helped one another, have always stood shoulder to shoulder in the fight against the common enemy. In the wars of resistance against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists, Vietnamese volunteer forces twice joined the armed forces of the people of Kampuchea in the fight in Kampuchea and withdrew after France and the United States ended their wars of aggression.

In 1975, following the defeat of the U.S. imperialists in Indochina, the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles began openly pursuing a hostile policy toward the three countries of Indochina, used the Pol Pot clique to wage a genocidal war against the Kampuchean people, committed aggression against Vietnam and sabotaged the independence and security of Laos with a view toward annexing the three countries of Indochina and using them as a springboard for expansion into Southeast Asia. On the basis of the tradition of militant solidarity between the peoples and the revolutionary armed forces of Kampuchea and Vietnam, exercising our sacred right of self-defense and responding to a request by the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation, Vietnamese volunteer forces once again joined the people and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Kampuchea in combat, toppling the Pol Pot genocidal regime and defeating the scheme of China.

Since the Pol Pot clique was toppled, the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles, in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers, have continued to pursue a hostile policy toward the three countries of Indochina. They launched a war of aggression against Vietnam in February, 1979. They have used territory of Thailand as a base for supporting and supplying weapons to remnants of the Pol Pot army and other reactionary Khmer forces that have infiltrated and attacked Kampuchea, conducted subversive activities and opposed the revival of the people of Kampuchea. They have continuously engaged in acts of provocation and created a tense situation along the Thai-Kampuchean border, the Thai-Lao border and the Sino-Viet border while constantly waging a multi-faceted war of sabotage against the three



countries of Indochina, thereby undermining peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

In the face of this situation, the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, in keeping with the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation signed between the two countries in February, 1979, requested that Vietnamese volunteer forces continue to remain in Kampuchea to fulfill their international obligation to help the people and the armed forces of Kampuchea in the work of building and defending the country and oppose the intervention by the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles and other reactionary powers. The presence of Vietnamese volunteer forces in Kampuchea satisfies the vital interests and aspirations of the people of Kampuchea and is totally consistent with the principles of the movement of non-aligned countries and the United Nations Charter concerning the right of nations to help one another defend themselves.

In the past, Vietnamese volunteer forces joined the armed forces of Kampuchea and Laos in defeating the wars of aggression waged by the colonialists and the imperialists against the three countries of Indochina, thereby eradicating the source of the threat to the peace and security of the nations in Southeast Asia. This time, for the third time, Vietnamese volunteer forces have gone to Kampuchea again as a result of the need of the two nations to unite and help each other deal with the threat of intervention and aggression from the outside and this action has never threatened any country. The Vietnamese volunteer forces remain in Kampuchea at the request of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and will be withdrawn at the request of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

Over the past 4 years, the presence of Vietnamese volunteer forces in Kampuchea has helped to defeat the scheme pursued by the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers. In a short amount of time, the people of Kampuchea, displaying resourcefulness, bravery and creativity, have recorded tremendous achievements in their work of building and defending the country and the armed forces of Kampuchea have constantly grown. The People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam are determined to strengthen their unity and cooperation and contribute to the maintenance of the peace and security of the three countries of Indochina.

On the basis of their unchanging stand concerning the presence of Vietnamese volunteer forces in Kampuchea and on the basis of the present situation, the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam hereby agree to the following:

1. All Vietnamese volunteer forces in Kampuchea will be withdrawn when the threat posed by the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles and the other reactionary powers as well as the use of territory of Thailand to oppose the People's Republic of Kampuchea and all support for the Pol Pot clique and other reactionary Khmer forces have completely ended and the peace and security of Kampuchea, especially along the Kampuchea-Thai border, are guaranteed.

2. Each year, a decision will be made to withdraw a number of Vietnamese volunteer forces from Kampuchea on the basis of examining Kampuchea's security situation.

3. Continuing the withdrawal of some Vietnamese volunteer forces from Kampuchea in 1982, an additional number of Vietnamese volunteer units will be withdrawn from Kampuchea in 1983.

4. In the case that the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer forces from Kampuchea is used to oppose the peace and security of Kampuchea, the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea will exchange opinions with the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in accordance with the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation between the two countries.

The people of Kampuchea will forever remember the service performed by the cadres and soldiers of the Vietnamese volunteer forces who, in the noble international spirit and without regard for the bloodshed involved, have helped the people of Kampuchea in their cause of resisting the intervention by foreign reactionary powers and their lackeys, the Pol Pot genocidal clique and the other reactionary Khmer forces, thereby creating favorable conditions for the people of Kampuchea to revive and rebuild their country.

The People's Democratic Republic of Laos highly evaluates and warmly applauds this decision by the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, considering it to be an expression of good will and an important, new contribution to the peace and security of the three countries of Indochina and to peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

The government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea hereby affirms its determination to build an independence, peaceful and non-aligned Kampuchea. the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea once again states that if the Kampucheans within the ranks of Pol Pot and the other reactionary Khmer forces who are directly or indirectly cooperating with them in order to oppose the revival of the people of Kampuchea and support the scheme of hegemony of the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles and the international reactionary powers abandon the ranks of Pol Pot and the other reactionary Khmer forces, stop cooperating with them and respect the Constitution of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, they will be granted every right of citizenship and be allowed to be candidates for office and vote in the free elections as stipulated under the Constitution. International observers will be invited to observe the free general election in Kampuchea.

The People's Democratic Republic of Laos and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam have a high evaluation of the above mentioned correct policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

The People's Democratic Republic of Laos, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam steadfastly adhere to a policy of peace, friendship and cooperation with neighboring countries and all other countries. In this spirit, the three countries once again propose the signing of a non-aggression treaty and the normalization of relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence with China and the ASEAN countries; at the same time,

we propose that an international conference on Southeast Asia be held to resolve the issues of peace and stability within the region.

Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam believe that through the efforts of all concerned sides, Southeast Asia, a region that has been in a state of tension for more than 30 years, will surely become a region of peace, stability, friendship and cooperation, a region without foreign military bases, without foreign armies and without foreign intervention, which is consistent with the interests and the desires of the people of the countries of Southeast Asia and the people of the world.

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## THE ESSENCE OF SOCIALIST CRIMINAL LAW

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 83 pp 13-18

[Article by Professor Nguyen Ngoc Minh]

[Text] The socialist system of law demands a system of constantly improved laws. Within this system of laws, criminal law occupies a very important position.

Our criminal law has the tasks of protecting the socialist state, protecting the socialist system and protecting the basic rights of citizens against criminals, that is, against actions that are dangerous to society and harm the order of socialist law.

After the August Revolution, our country promulgated many criminal laws. These laws have made an important contribution to protecting our revolutionary state, maintaining political security and social order and safety and protecting and strengthening the socialist system as well as protecting the rights and legitimate interests of the citizen.

However, in the present stage, the stage in which the entire country is performing the task of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland, these laws are not enough to meet the needs of the country. Therefore, the promulgation of a code of criminal law, the first such code of our country, is a matter of great urgency in supporting the tasks mentioned above while helping to improve the laws of our state. Because, "as the conditions of a stable and strong government improve and the exchanges among the masses develop, it becomes an even more pressing need to adopt the slogan of taking determined steps to establish a broaden system of revolutionary law."(1)

As the most important component of the socialist system of law, our country's criminal law thoroughly reflects the working class stand and reflects the will and aspirations of the laboring people of our country led by the working class.

## I. The Class Nature of Socialist Criminal Law

In a society that has classes and a state structure, social relations are regulated by means of law. These social relations become legal relations. There are many different types of social relations; therefore, there are also many different types of laws for punishing behavior that violates the normal relations of society. However, of the various types of law, no type has the force and the strong, harsh provisions that criminal law has. And, only those types of behavior that pose a certain danger to the ruling class fall within the scope of criminal law.

In the shift from one society to another, criminal law undergoes profound changes. The criminal law codes of the exploiting systems (the slave system, the feudal system and the capitalist system) have one very basic point in common: they protect the interests of the exploiting classes, protect the system of private ownership of the instruments of production and the exploitation of man by man, very brutally suppress the laboring people and provide for very barbarous forms of punishment. In the age of imperialism, the criminal law of the imperialist countries is designed to suppress not only the people of the mother country, but also the people of the colonies and dependent countries.

Socialist criminal law is completely different. It protects the interests of the working class and laboring people. It protects the socialist system, a system in which there is no exploitation of man by man. Article 1 of the draft of our Code of Criminal Law states: "The criminal law of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has the tasks of protecting the socialist system and the right of socialist collective ownership of the people, protecting the life and basic rights of the citizen, protecting socialist law and order against every criminal action and, at the same time, teaching to everyone the consciousness of obeying the law, struggling against and preventing all criminal behavior..."

The working class nature of our country's criminal law is manifested in the goals that it has the task of protecting as well as in the punishments for the various kinds of criminal behavior: betraying the fatherland, serving as the lackeys of the imperialists and reactionaries against the fatherland and the people and other types of behavior that is dangerous to socialist society.

In order to maintain the existence, stability and strength of a system and protect the fundamental rights and even the life of each citizen, socialist criminal law very resolutely punishes enemies of the revolution and the socialist system and behavior that is especially dangerous to society.

During the period of transition to socialism, it is even more necessary for the dictatorship of the proletariat state "to be an iron government that possesses revolutionary courage and takes swift, stern action when necessary to suppress exploiters as well as hoodlums."

It is necessary to be so resolute because, during this period of transition, "exploiters have been defeated but not annihilated... Because they have been

defeated, their resistance has strengthened, has increased 100, 1,000-fold."(3)

It is necessary to be so resolute because, during this period of transition, the remnants of the old society, of colonialism, both old and new, and of the lackey puppet regime in the South, are still very deeply entrenched and are spreading as a result of our weaknesses; these remnants are also being used by the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists and the U.S. imperialists in a vain attempt to topple the socialist system.

Therefore, the resolution of our 5th Party Congress confirmed: "Our state must employ all its political power and economic power to maintain social discipline and effectively struggle against behavior that violates the law and against social ills."

In keeping with this line, the draft of our criminal law (Article 3) states: "It is necessary to harshly punish the masterminds and leaders of criminal activity, stubborn opposition elements, hoodlums, gangsters, other criminals, those who degenerate and abuse their position and authority, illegal organizations established for criminal purposes, organized criminals and those who intentionally cause serious harm."

At the same time, however, our criminal law consistently reflects the humanitarian nature of the socialist system. This is also a dominant characteristic of the line of the socialist state concerning criminal affairs. In keeping with this spirit, the system of penalties under our country's criminal law includes transformation without detention. This is a form of punishment which, instead of taking away the freedom of the criminal, that is, instead of isolating the criminal from society, puts the criminal under the management of social organizations to be educated or allows the prisoner's family to take custody of him. It must be stated that this is a form of punishment for first-time offenders who have committed crimes that are not very serious, are not very dangerous to society, who previously were law abiding citizens and who have repented for their crimes. During the period of time spent in transformation without detention, the person being punished must be under the supervision of society and must be transformed well. The use of this form of punishment in our country as well as the fraternal socialist countries has shown that it has a positive effect upon criminals and their families and also benefits society.

The humanitarian nature of our country's criminal law is evident in the clemency that is granted to criminals who voluntarily confess their crimes, to criminals who truly repent and expiate their crime by performing a good deed and to persons who voluntarily repair or pay for the damage they caused.

This humanitarian spirit can also be seen in the attitude of the state toward criminals during the period that they are serving their sentence and after they have completed their sentence. The state has the policy of transforming and educating them so that they do not commit a crime again and become productive members of society. If, while serving their sentence, they make much progress, they may receive a reduced sentence and be released early in accordance with the provisions of current law. If, upon the completion of

their sentence, criminals transform themselves well and do not repeat their crime within a specified amount of time (the length of which depends upon the nature of their crime and the sentence handed down to them), their prison record will be expunged, that is, they will be considered as having never committed a crime. These are new provisions of the law designed to transform persons who have fallen into crime, thereby opening a way for them to return to a law abiding life.

Another important expression of the humanitarian nature of socialist criminal law is the trend toward decriminalization. This trend is consistent with the laws of the development of socialist society. Under socialism, the new social system becomes increasingly stable and strong, the members of society achieve an increasingly high level of consciousness, the social causes of crime decline more with each passing day and are eventually abolished, the incidence of crime constantly decreases, the number of different types of crime gradually declines and crimes eventually disappear.

## II. Crimes and Punishment Under Socialism

The concept of crime differs from one system to another. The progressive or reactionary nature of a social system is very clearly expressed in what the system considers a crime to be and how it punishes criminals.

As an example, let us consider the Code of Law of Gia Long. In addition to "the 10 crimes" that feudal systems established, among which the crimes of plotting to overthrow the king and bring down the dynasty, the crime of destroying the temple of a deceased king, the imperial tomb or the royal palace and the crime of betraying the country and joining the enemy were the three most serious crimes, the House of Nguyen also established many new crimes for the purpose of protecting their deteriorating feudal system. As regards the punishments for crimes, in addition to the five traditional types of punishment employed by the feudal systems (flogging, beating, servile labor, imprisonment and execution)(4), the House of Nguyen also established many more barbarous forms of punishment: hanging, execution by dissection (cutting and stripping off flesh, poking out the eyes and forcing the criminal to die a slow death), decapitation (beheading and displaying the head in public), beheading and cutting the body into small pieces and so forth. The Nguyen Dynasty even employed the punishment of beheading and displaying in public the heads of exhumed bodies or persons who were already dead. The Code of Criminal Law (1972) of the Thieu regime consisted of 493 articles. Through crimes called crimes against external security and crimes against internal security (resisting and plotting to resist the government, sowing national disorder and so forth), which were defined in Articles 108 through 135, an very many other crimes, this Code of Law of the Americans and the puppets was designed to protect their very cruel fascist system and very barbarously terrorize our compatriots in the South.

Conversely, our criminal law is based on the viewpoint that crimes are various types of behavior that violate the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the fatherland; violate the socialist state system, economic regulations and regulations governing socialist ownership; violate

the life, health, property, freedom, honor, dignity and basic rights of the citizen; and disrupt socialist order. However, in the course of history, during the period from the time when our people first seized political power from the hands of the imperialists and the exploiting classes until the time that the government had been firmly established, in the period of socialist transformation and socialist construction or when making the shift from war time to peace time and so forth, we see that although the names of crimes are the same, the punishments for them are not.

Therefore, crime is clearly an historic category and socialist criminal law has developed in a manner consistent with the historic circumstances involved in the strengthening of the new social system.

Criminal law can be very harsh; therefore, it must very closely comply with a number of principles:

--We may not capriciously deduce that a type of behavior is a crime, rather, all crimes must be defined by law.

The person who commits a crime must be a person who is capable of being held criminally responsible. A child or a person who is insane cannot be held criminally responsible.

--Punishment for crimes must also be defined by the law and based on the nature of the crime, the danger posed by it to society and the circumstances and background of the criminal.

--Punishment for crimes must be declared by the court in exact accordance with the law and on the basis of the Constitution. Trials conducted by the court must comply with the procedures defined under the law in order to insure a fair and objective trial and not allow criminals to go unpunished or allow a person to be unjustly tried.

Crime is a characteristic of a society in which there are antagonistic classes, private ownership of the instruments of production and exploitation of man by man. In "The Sacred Family," Marx wrote: to abolish crime, "we must abolish the social antagonisms that are the source of crime." Therefore, Marx maintained that the intelligent legislator always does everything possible to prevent crime instead of being forced to punish criminals.

The tendency to prevent crime, therefore, is a special characteristic of socialist criminal law. Today, modern socialist criminal science very heavily emphasizes the prevention of crime.

Lenin attached very much importance to the matter of preventing crime and proposed many practical ways to achieve this goal: promptly punishing criminals; creating the conditions for the masses to widely participate in the process of managing criminals; raising the material standard of living and the cultural level of the masses; widely educating the masses concerning the law; constantly strengthening the spirit of activism and the consciousness of the masses with regard to protecting and complying with the socialist system of



law; compiling statistics on crimes, analyzing crimes and determining their causes in order to prevent crimes from occurring.

In Vietnam, the guideline of preventing crimes is very important and has been codified within the new Constitution (Article 12).

Another very basic difference between socialist criminal law and bourgeois criminal law is that bourgeois criminal law has a tendency to broaden the scope of criminalization in order to barbarously suppress the laboring people. The essence of a bourgeois state, of bourgeois law is suppression and exploitation. When they encounter opposition by the people, they intensify their suppression of the people. They want to make everything that is directed against them a crime. As a result, their codes of criminal law are very lengthy and there is a tendency for these codes to grow longer.(5)

When its discrimination based on race and color is taken into consideration, American criminal law is seen to be even more barbarous. According to Professor F. Phooc-xlan [Vietnamese phonetics], a comparison of the number of black people and white people who are arrested and imprisoned in the United States shows that American police arrest seven times as many black males and white males and 11 times as many black women as white women; seven times as many black males are prosecuted and 12 times as many black women are prosecuted; 10 times as many black males are imprisoned and 14 times as many black women are imprisoned.

However, due to the cruel nature of American criminal law and the corrupt nature of the American social system, the number of crimes being committed in the United States is rising daily. According to the annual report by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in 1981, a crime was committed once every 24 seconds; one rape was committed every 6 minutes; and one murder occurred every 26 minutes. In 1981, a total of 13 million crimes were committed. Crime increased at a rate of 22 percent from 1977 to 1981. According to a correspondent for a U.S. television network (CBS), the United States now has the highest crime rate in the western world.

Conversely, in the socialist countries, because of the beautiful nature of the social system and the impact of education and transformation, the tendency toward decriminalization is constantly developing. The criminal law codes of the socialist countries are becoming shorter.(6)

And, the socialist countries are looking for every way to constantly reduce the number of violations of the Code of Criminal Law.

### III. Drafting Criminal Law Is a Scientific Endeavor

The development of the society of man from the point of having no written code of criminal law, only criminal law based on customs (such as "a fine of 3 quan for striking another," "a fine of 6 quan for causing blood to be shed," "murderers must pay with their own lives" and so forth), to the point of having a code of written criminal law has been a major step forward.

Shortly after the success of the Russian October Revolution, at the time when the Soviet state had only drafted rudimentary criminal laws, Lenin cited the need to evaluate the nature and the danger of an action to society on the basis of a revolutionary conscience (conscience revolutionnaire). Later, as a more complete code of criminal law was developed and social relations began being regulated by law, this revolutionary conscience was replaced by a juridical socialist conscience (conscience juridique socialiste). And, the order that this criminal law had to protect was socialist legal order (ordre legal socialiste), not general social order (ordre social).

Today, criminal law has become a science. Therefore, the drafting of criminal law is a scientific endeavor. The scientific nature of this work is seen in the fact that criminal law is based on the system of social relations that it must regulate. These social relations develop in accordance with objective laws.

To formulate the Code of Vietnamese Criminal Law, we must first base our efforts on the realities of the Vietnamese revolution, on the social situation of our country and on the revolutionary tasks that the party has established for all the people in the upcoming stage.

We must rely upon the experiences that have been gained in the realities of the struggle against crime over the past several decades; at the same time, we must predict the changes that will occur in the crime situation in the coming period, keeping in mind the facts that our country is in a situation in which it is at peace but must contend with a multi-faceted war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and must be ready to deal with the possible outbreak of a large-scale war. Consequently, social management in our country is peace time management in some respects and war time management in others. We must, therefore, employ both ordinary measures as well as special measures.

We must also know how to make use of the achievements of the social sciences (such as sociology, psychology, pedagogy, philosophy, history and so forth); in particular, we must be skilled in legal science, especially criminal law, criminology and the techniques of drafting documents as well as the experiences that have been gained in the development of legal codes. In the modern age of the scientific and technological revolution, we must also coordinate legal science with the achievements of some natural and technical sciences.

The promulgation by our state of the Code of Criminal Law is of tremendous significance in many ways. It will make a positive contribution to managing society, maintaining political security, maintaining social order and safety, encouraging wholesome actions, encouraging conscious compliance with the law and strengthening state discipline, thereby creating favorable conditions for all our people to successfully build socialism and firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, Volume 44, p 404.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 240.
3. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1979, Volume 39, p 319.
4. Flogging meant to be whipped, beating meant to be beaten with a stick; "do" meant to be sentenced to servile labor; imprisonment meant to be sent to prison; and execution meant being killed.
5. The Code of Criminal Law of Italy consists of 734 articles; France's consists of 475 articles; Spain's consists of 604 articles and so forth. The Code of Criminal Law (1972) of Nguyen Van Thieu consisted of 193 articles.
6. Generally speaking, each code of law consists of approximately 300 articles. The codes of criminal law of the Soviet Republics range in length from 244 articles in the Code of Criminal Law of Estonia (the shortest code) to 299 articles in the Code of Criminal Law of Turkmen (the longest code of criminal law in the Soviet Union). The Code of Criminal Law of the GDR consists of 283 articles; Czechoslovakia's consists of 301 articles; Hungary's consists of 367 articles and so forth. Our Code of Criminal Law contains about 300 articles.

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## TRAINING AND BUILDING THE CORPS OF AGRICULTURAL CADRES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 83 pp 19-24

[Article by Duong Hong Dat]

[Text] One of the important matters of decisive significance in advancing agriculture one step closer to large-scale socialist production is that of training and building the corps of scientific and technical cadres. The resolution of the 5th Party Congress stated: "We must continue to train a corps of skilled workers, scientific and technical cadres and economic management cadres that is balanced, well coordinated and suited to the requirements of the revolution in the present stage and the next stage."(1)

We have trained a corps of agricultural cadres consisting of hundreds of thousands of technicians and middle level cadres and tens of thousands of cadres who have a college or post graduate education. This corps has made positive contributions to the development of our country's agriculture in the recent past. However, this corps still exhibits numerous shortcomings and there is still much confusion with regard to turning the party's line on building and developing agriculture into reality. Many norms within industry are not being met; development within many agricultural areas has come to a standstill; and many agricultural places are only moving slowly forward or making virtually no progress at all. This situation demands that we gradually carry out the planning of the training and the utilization of agricultural cadres.

The planning of the corps of agricultural cadres must first be designed to train and build a corps that is capable of resolving the food and clothing problems of our people, the problem of raw materials for industry and the problem of agricultural products for exportation. This planning must take into consideration the need to develop agricultural production in depth and in breadth. The average amount of farmland per capita in our country is one of the lowest in the world. We must have skilled, highly specialized cadres for each type product, for each production job and for each aspect of production that has an impact upon each type of product. Together with specialized cadres, we must have cadres who have a broad knowledge of each product group and possess a certain amount of ability to organize production and resolve production problems in order to develop our natural resources and arable land

in an efficient manner so that our country's agriculture becomes an abundant and diverse agriculture based on specialized farming and large-scale socialist production.

The planning of the corps of cadres must be based on orienting activities in such a way as to achieve the goals that have been established, achieve them in a manner consistent with the conditions and the level of development of our country's economy. We are building socialism with an economy in which small-scale production predominates, an economy that has not experienced the stage of capitalist development; therefore, the corps of agricultural cadres cannot be planned or build only on the basis of mechanization, the application of chemistry, electrification and so forth, rather, it must be planned in such a way as to make the highest possible use of the results of the science of biology in coordination with making good use of industrial measures and economic measures, as pointed out in Political Bureau resolution number 37 on the policy regarding science and technology. This guideline requires a corps of cadres who are fully capable of achieving an ecologically balanced agriculture and resolving the problems of intensive cultivation, of raising crop and livestock yields on the basis of biological laws. This corps must be fully capable of conducting scientific research projects, verifying scientific-technological advances, formulating technical regulations, organizing the rapid introduction of scientific and technological advances in production and turning science and technology into a direct production force within the shortest possible amount of time. This corps must possess the ability to research, develop and apply many biological measures (the allocation of crops, production seasons, varieties and breeds, organic fertilizer, pesticides, beneficial vegetation, insects and microorganisms and so forth; in each specific case. This guideline also requires that the corps of cadres be able to resolve economic problems and problems involved in the organization and management of production well in order to create a tremendous strength with which to develop production amidst shortages of materials and technical supplies.

The various industrial measures (machinery, chemicals, electricity, energy and so forth) are very important factors in raising labor productivity and developing an agriculture characterized by centralized production and intensive cultivation. However, our country's industry has yet to develop to the point where it can fully satisfy the needs of an agriculture characterized by intensive cultivation and large-scale socialist production. Therefore, for each given period of time, the corps of agricultural cadres must chart a course for agricultural development that is consistent with our circumstances; they must know how to use our meager means and industry in the most efficient and economical manner possible.

On the basis of the above mentioned goals and guidelines concerning the planning of the corps of agricultural cadres, the size and structure of this corps can be as follows:

As regards size, every agricultural production cooperative that has from 300 to 500 hectares of farmland will have an average of 10 basic production units. The number of laborers at each cooperative is roughly 1,000. Of this number, about 20 percent must be trained as technicians to operate within the

specialized teams and units (the seed unit, the duckweed unit, the crop protection unit, the farmland water conservancy team, the fertilizer team, the veterinary group and so forth). These technicians operate under the guidance of the middle level technical cadres whose task it is to serve as the heads of the various specialized units. In addition, in order to manage and organize the production activities within the basic units, the unit heads and assistant heads must also have a middle level education in technology (crop or livestock production), economics or a profession (planning or statistics). Generally speaking, middle level cadres have not yet been equipped with all the knowledge they need to operate independently; therefore, these cadres must, in order to have an impact, be under the guidance of cadres who have a college level education. Every cooperative must have a head who possesses a college level education in order to organize and guide production in a scientifically based manner and, at the same time, assemble and guide the activities of the corps of cadres who have a college or middle school education and technicians. The chief accountant, the chief technician in charge of crop production and the chief technician in charge of livestock production within the cooperative must have a college level education to be able to resolve the problems of production and organize the activities of dozens of middle level cadres and hundreds of technicians in an efficient manner. Thus, on the average, each cooperative must have 200 technicians, 30 middle level cadres and 4 cadres who have a college level education (or possibly an education obtained at an agricultural academy). When development in our country stabilizes and we have from 20,000 to 30,000 cooperatives, we will need from 4 million to 6 million technicians, 600,000 to 800,000 middle level cadres and 80,000 to 120,000 cadres who possess a college education. These numbers of cadres do not exist within the state administration.

At present, we have more than 400 state farms, each of which has from 1,000 to 5,000 hectares of farmland (a number of farms are larger). In the process of opening new land to agriculture, we are building many new state farms, especially in areas that raise perennial industrial crops. Each state farm requires from 1,000 to 2,000 technicians, 200 to 300 middle level cadres and 30 to 40 college level cadres. Under the next few 5-year plans, we will reach a total of approximately 500 state farms, thus, we will need 100,000 to 150,000 middle level cadres, 500,000 to 1 million technicians and 15,000 to 20,000 college level cadres.

We have more than 400 districts and 40 administrative units on the provincial level. The activities of the corps of agricultural cadres are arranged within the systems of the state apparatus in four fields: cadre training and scientific research; the implementation of technology and technical management; the guidance of production and state management; and production and business. These four fields of activity are organized along two lines: specialized sectors (rice, rubber and so forth, hogs, poultry and so forth) and special areas (varieties and breeds, agricultural chemicals, crop protection, veterinary services and so forth). Within each district is an agricultural committee and an agricultural school training technicians for the cooperatives, the crop protection and veterinary technical stations, the level II rice seed farms, the hog breeding farms, the duckweed farms, the livestock feed processing plant and so forth. In order for the districts to be able to assemble and guide the activities of the corps of agricultural cadres within

the cooperatives and insure that the activities conducted within a number of fields are highly specialized, each district requires approximately 40 middle level cadres and 20 to 25 cadres who have a college level education. Thus, for our 400 districts, we need about 16,000 middle level cadres and 8,000 to 10,000 college level cadres.

The provinces have agricultural services with a developed organizational apparatus to insure the implementation of state management in the many different specialized fields. The provinces have middle level agricultural schools, technical experimentation centers, crop protection stations, veterinary stations, rice seed farms and hog breeding farms. The provinces also have many corporations that do business in and produce agricultural products, such as the bee corporation, the silkworm corporation, the poultry corporation, the fish corporation and so forth. Some provinces have organized corporations on the basis of industrial crop products, such as sugarcane, tobacco, coffee, rubber, tea, etc. To insure that the activities of the provinces are fully carried out in all fields, each province requires from 150 to 200 college level cadres and 300 to 400 middle level cadres. For our 40 provincial level units, we will need 12,000 to 6,000 middle level cadres and 6,000 to 8,000 college level cadres.

On the central level, the system of state management agencies is organized in a streamlined fashion to insure highly effective guidance and management. The system of scientific research institutes must be built so that it can resolve the problems involved in developing agricultural production of an agriculture within a tropical ecosystem. The system of colleges, academies and middle schools must be organized to train a well coordinated corps of cadres that is evenly distributed throughout the country. The system of corporations must also be sufficiently developed to meet the needs of the country and export needs as well as the needs involved in economic cooperation with other countries of the world. In addition, there are a number of technical systems, such as the crop seed system, the livestock breeding system, the crop protection system, the veterinary system, the machine system, etc. According to initial calculations, in order to insure that these systems are operated well, we must have about 30,000 to 40,000 middle level cadres and 15,000 to 20,000 cadres who have a college level education. On the other hand, we need about 5,000 to 10,000 cadres who have an agricultural college education and a similar number of cadres who have an agricultural middle school education to work in the economic, scientific-technical and state management sectors (the college sector, the army, the education sector, the interior sector and so forth). Thus, in the years ahead, the corps of agricultural cadres must, in terms of its size, number 5 million to 7 million technicians, 750,000 to 1 million middle level cadres and 130,000 to 190,000 college level cadres, with the following corresponding numbers working at cooperatives: 4 to 5 million technicians, 600,000 to 800,000 middle level cadres and 80,000 to 120,000 college level cadres. In order to maintain this size corps once it has been achieved, we will have to train 170,000 to 230,000 technicians each year, assuming that each person serves for a period of 30 years from the time he or she graduates from school. (This number of technicians will be trained at the district schools of agriculture and the worker schools). The more than 400 schools in the districts must train an average of 425 to 500 persons per school annually. Each year, in order to train 25,000 to 30,000 middle level

cadres, the 45 middle level schools of the country will have to train 550 to 600 persons apiece. The colleges can be given the task of training cadres for the state sector and the academies can be given the task of training cadres for the collective economic sector. The colleges will have to train 2,000 to 2,500 persons each year. Each of the six colleges and annexes within the country will have to train an average of 350 to 450 persons each year. The academy system will have to annually train 2,700 to 4,000 persons for cooperatives. If each school trains 300 persons per year, we will need to have 9 to 12 academies. At present, hardly any cooperatives have cadres who hold a college level education; therefore, this is a vacancy, one that it will take 30 years to fill with the planned number of cadres at the present rate of training.

As regards the structure of the corps, agricultural cadre planning must insure balance among the sectors, among the specialized sectors and areas and create a corps that is capable of performing the various production jobs in accordance with established guidelines. Agricultural production consists of many elements: from planning, preparing the soil and preparing production materials to planting, cultivating, harvesting and, finally, drying, storing and transporting agricultural products. Each element encompasses a number of special areas. For example, planting encompasses seed variety, planting density, planting season, planting depth, etc.

Within each special area, each agricultural cadre must resolve many scientific and technical problems and deal with many different situations. With regard to each type crop, each species of livestock and each type product, the structure of the corps of cadres must reflect balance among the various special areas and jobs in order for the production process to be smoothly carried out on the basis of science insuring that production develops along the lines of intensive cultivation and achieves stable results despite the frequent changes that occur in agricultural production.

Each special area within agriculture, such as crop varieties and livestock species, crop protection, the soil, fertilizer, veterinary services and so forth, also consists of many different matters that must be resolved, from the fundamentals and the bases of the specialized sectors to technical measures, regulations and the principles of application and guidance. The structure of the corps in each special area must be balanced and well coordinated in order to upgrade the results of scientific research to scientific-technological advances and then to measures employed in production. Thus, within each special area, the structure of the corps of cadres must also be developed in depth.

The structure of the corps of cadres must also reflect balance between the central level and the local level. If the corps is lacking in coordination or too small, it will not be able to assemble or develop upon the impact of the corps on the lower level or the corps on the upper level.

In order to build a corps of agricultural cadres that is fully capable of fulfilling the goals and tasks set forth by the party, we must performing the following number of specific jobs well in the years ahead:



## 1. Improving the recruiting of students.

We must provide training to the young forces of each area of the country so that they possess the knowledge and the zeal needed to support agriculture, possess love of their birthplaces, love of their fields and are close to the countryside. To accomplish this, it is necessary to implement a system of recruiting students on the basic level. Only by recruiting students on the basic level is it possible to insure the uniform distribution of cadres across the various areas of the country and insure that they are content with their work.

It is necessary to provide good occupational counselling within the middle level general schools and select, on a voluntary basis, children who display an aptitude for agricultural production, love their birthplaces and love farm fields for study at the various agricultural schools. It is necessary to properly coordinate the selection of cadres on the basic level for training and the appointment of cadres on the basic level for training. This effort is of very important significance to the agricultural production installations, especially the cooperatives. The cooperatives and state farms must select cadres and manual workers who possess the qualifications needed to participate in training at the middle schools, colleges and worker schools. Upon graduation, they will return to work at their former installations. Thus, the cadres who are trained will be quite familiar with the area in which they are working and will have a very clear direction to follow in their studies.

In order to implement the recruiting of students on the basic level well and coordinate the recruitment and appointment of trainees well, it is necessary to formulate and implement agricultural cadre recruiting and training planning by production area. The recruiting of students must be planned for each district and coordinated with cadre training. We must not only project the number and the qualifications of cadres who will be trained, but must also project how much time will be needed for training and, in some cases, even project which specific individuals will receive training.

## 2. Improving the quality of instruction and study.

Today, following many years of providing training, we have the experience and the foundation needed to set goals for each level and each type of cadre being trained. We also have all the conditions needed to break down these goals for each level of training. For example, on the college level, we can establish separate training goals for the cooperative sector and separate training goals for the personnel of the state administration. Some types of cadres can be trained by title: the chief accountants of the cooperatives, the chief technicians in charge of crop production, the chief technicians in charge of livestock production, etc.

As regards instruction, it is necessary to clearly define the special characteristics of our country's agricultural production, provide a thorough understanding of our party's line on building and developing agricultural production and constantly improve the command that students have of theory so that they can keep abreast of developments in the leading fields of agricultural science in the world and, on this basis, constantly raise the

level of practical application and the skills of the cadres being trained. The educational principles of the party and the resolution on educational reform must be implemented well. The effort to improve the quality of the training of the corps of agricultural cadres must be directed toward giving them the qualifications and the ability needed to build a modern system of agriculture in accordance with the line of the party, an agriculture that is suited to our natural, economic and social conditions and which fully reflects the achievements of science at home and abroad.

3. Improving the utilization of cadres and routinely providing cadres with advanced training in order to raise their qualifications.

It is necessary to achieve good coordination in terms of the specialized sectors, specialized areas, qualifications and number of cadres in order to fully resolve key problems. We must rapidly establish collectives of specialists who are fully capable of resolving problems pertaining to both theory and practice in production in an outstanding manner. The corps of cadres must be widely distributed so that no field or sector in agricultural production is without cadres. The planning of the utilization of cadres must be consistent with the plans for the recruiting of trainees and training plans.

It is necessary to formulate a policy on the responsibilities of each person in each different job and promulgate regulations on the duties, tasks and authority of technical cadres in production. On the basis of how well each person fulfills his duties and task, we must regularly provide advanced training and raise the qualifications of cadres. To enable cadres to keep abreast of the development of science and production, a plan must be adopted to provide periodic and routine formal, advanced training to each type cadre; the actual work of providing advanced training can be carried out well within collectives that lie within special areas of production or specialized sectors when these collectives have leading cadres who are well qualified and have a good reputation.

4. Establishing a well coordinated system of regulations and policies designed to stimulate the formation and development of the corps of cadres.

To begin with, it is necessary to adopt policies which insure that the corps of cadres has the conditions needed to devote its efforts to supporting the country and supporting the party's work of developing the economy. It must be guaranteed that cadres will work in the occupation for which they were trained and will be able to display their full ability and strength. Policies must be enacted which insure that the collectives of specialized sectors and specialized areas operate well, are closely linked to one another, work together and assume joint responsibility.

Policies must establish good relations between the leadership of the party, the management of the state and the specialized activities of the corps of professional cadres. Policies must be adopted to encourage and provide incentive to cadres who record achievements and to penalize those cadres who display a lack of responsibility or commit mistakes; at the same time, all cadres, regardless of their job, must be insured that they will be able to

continue their studies and constantly raise their qualifications. Policies must be adopted that provide incentive for persons to work in the countryside, in remote areas, in the mountains, on the islands and so forth.

Building a corps of agricultural cadres such as the one described above will require a few decades as well as the concern and efforts of many sectors and levels. Right now, however, it is necessary for the various party committee echelons and the organizations of government from the central to the basic levels to have a correct understanding of the tremendous importance of training and building the corps of agricultural cadres and then gradually concretize and successfully implement the resolution of the 5th Party Congress.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "The Main Economic and Social Guidelines, Tasks and Objectives for the Next 5 Years (1981-1985) and the 1980's," TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, p 120.

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CSO: 4210/9

## INSURING THE STATE'S EXCLUSIVE RIGHTS IN FINANCIAL AND MONETARY MATTERS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 83 pp 25-30

[Article by Le Nhu Bach]

[Text] Since the adoption of the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 4th Party Central Committee and especially since the 5th Congress of the Party, the style of management characterized by bureaucracy and subsidization has been partially overcome, thereby opening the way for the development of production and business. The policy on product contracts within agriculture is continuing to heighten the enthusiasm for productive labor of tens of millions of farmers and making a large contribution to the success of agricultural production. The broadening of the independence of enterprises in production and business in a manner closely linked to satisfying the three interests has generated a spirit of activism and dynamism within industrial enterprises and helped to increase the social product, encourage the full use of discarded materials and defective products and stimulate the use of backlogged materials and the development of existing potentials that lie in labor, machinery and equipment for the purpose of accelerating production. The reorganization of the two-way trade mechanism and the adjustment of agricultural product purchasing prices have helped to strengthen purchasing activities and put the sources of goods into the hands of the state. The above mentioned policies have had a positive impact by creating a moving force that has generated an intense productive labor movement among manual workers and farmers and stimulated research and creativity in an attempt to overcome difficulties and develop potentials in order to develop production.

However, in the recent past, some localities and installations have not truly understood the viewpoints or the policy thinking of the central level, thereby allowing many loopholes and deviations to occur when implementing these policies. Numerous enterprises have implemented the "three part plan" and the "three interests" in a distorted manner: instead of delivering the required quantity of products to the central level, they have taken it upon themselves to withhold a certain quantity of products to distribute internally and so forth; they have looked for ways to increase the income of manual workers through a variety of forms, such as lowering labor quotas, raising the piecework wage unit price, taking it upon themselves to establish subsidy or allowance systems and so forth in conflict with state regulations. Goods and

materials of the state are being used in any manner seen fit, are being lost or are finding their way to the free market in rather large quantities; the practices of conspiring in the two-way or three-way trade of materials and goods, competing with one another to buy raw materials and supplies, establishing product prices in an arbitrary fashion and pushing prices upward are rather widespread. Enterprise cost accounting is disorderly and many economic activities of state-operated enterprises lie outside the management and control of the state. There are unreasonable differences in income among enterprises, especially between light industry and heavy industry and between production units and professional and administrative units.

The lack of centralization within the financial field has caused serious disorder in some sectors and localities. Financial policies and regulations are not being scrupulously implemented and financial discipline is lax. Many enterprises and production installations have taken it upon themselves to withhold some of the revenues that are supposed to be submitted for inclusion in the budget in order to establish an "illicit fund" or make expenditures outside the scope of policies and regulations. Some localities have looked for ways to engage in "illegal" trade in order to establish funds or have withheld some revenues from the budget in order to avoid the supervision of the central finance agency and be able to spend "freely." There has even been one place at which the local government ordered the bank to transfer hundreds of millions of dong, giving the reason that the money represented funds being transferred from the central budget to the local budget. Many sectors, localities and basic units have taken it upon themselves to establish expenditure standards and regulations that lie outside general regulations. The standards on expenditures for conferences, training, retirement subsidies, expenses incurred on the job, receptions, gifts and so forth have been "dismantled" by many localities, sectors and basic units. Some localities have also established regulations on the rationed supply of meat, fish, sugar, fish sauce and so forth that are higher than the general ration standards of the state; and, for products that cannot be fully supplied, they have paid compensation in cash at prices roughly equal to free market prices at a time when they should be paying compensation based on the prices stipulated by the state, etc.

Monetary, credit and banking activities have also been undergoing changes of an unwholesome nature and have even been seriously disrupted in some cases and areas. Credit activities within society are rapidly becoming decentralized and liberal; bank credit faces the danger of shrinking. The mobilization of savings and idle capital among the people by the bank has come to a standstill and shown signs of declining. The interest rate on bank loans to enterprises, although low, has not attracted customers because loans cannot be taken out in cash. Meanwhile, there is an ever increasing tendency to attract cash at units by encouraging private individuals to pool their capital with the unit at very high interest rates (as high as 15 to 20 percent per month at some places) and use this money for business purposes that lie outside the management of the state, thereby establishing a system of illegitimate loans that competes with the State Bank, undermining the principle of the state's exclusive management rights in monetary matters and, at the same time, causing harm to the national financial system as a result of the need to illegally

share profits and price differentials with private shareholders and pay high interest rates.

The free market in money and interest rates and high interest loans have developed strongly in both the countryside and the cities and the flow of cash outside the bank is constantly increasing, even within the state sector, thus forming a free system in the circulation of money. Non-cash payment activities have clearly been reduced in scope. It is a rather widespread practice for agencies and enterprises to purchase goods and supplies in cash at lower prices than if they paid by check. Cash is flowing into bank funds more slowly with each day. Many enterprises and agencies have been depositing less cash in the bank and retaining a very large amount of cash within their units so that they can make expenditures and remove themselves from control by the finance and banking systems. Some sectors and localities have also retained foreign currency, gold and silver instead of submitting them for inclusion in the budget, thereby violating the law concerning the state's management of foreign currency and precious metals and causing more chaos in the free market in gold, silver, foreign currency and domestic currency. The circulation of money as calculated by stratum of the population is continuing to develop in an unwholesome direction, causing more serious and sharp divisions between the wealthy and the poor.

The weaknesses and shortcomings in insuring the state's exclusive rights in financial and monetary matters in the recent past have prevented us from establishing the kind of economic order and the kind of order in the field of distribution and circulation desired by the state and have, instead, caused much more disorder. This is the important reason why the state has not been able to audit or control production and business activities or mobilize and utilize in an economical and efficient manner the material means, labor and liquid capital within the field of production or within the fields of circulation and consumption as set forth in resolution 26 of the Political Bureau.

The resolution of the 5th Party Congress pointed out: "We are building socialism amidst complex international circumstances and a domestic situation that involves many serious difficulties and a sharp struggle between socialism and capitalism." The country is also in a situation in which it is "at peace but must contend with a multi-faceted war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists; at the same time, we must be ready to deal with the possibility of the enemy launching a large-scale war of aggression."

In such a situation, firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat and carrying the struggle between socialism and capitalism to its conclusion are the keys to the victory of the socialist revolution. We must have a clear understanding of the sharp and complex nature of the struggle between ourselves and the enemy in all aspects of life and the struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country at this time. On this basis, we must correct all vague understandings of these struggles and all actions that reflect a lack of vigilance, must strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, increase the effectiveness of the state and uphold the right of collective ownership of the laboring people while making skilled and well

coordinated use of economic, administrative and educational measures in economic management.

Economic management is a science as well as an art. Democratic centralism is a fundamental principle of socialist economic management. We are in the process of dismantling the management mechanism characterized by bureaucracy and subsidization; this is an entirely correct action but does not give us reason to give light attention to the need for centralism and unity concerning matters of fundamental importance, matters of principle, policy and regulation that pertain to the entire country; this is also not a reason to allow the sectors and localities to establish separate regulations and rules that are contrary to the principle of centralized management by the state. Nor can we endorse the decentralization, the practice of doing as one sees fit, the lack of organization, the lack of discipline or the partialism and localism that are occurring to one degree or another within some sectors, basic units and localities. V.I. Lenin said: "We are advocates of democratic centralism. However, it must be clearly understood that democratic centralism is, on the one hand, truly very different from bureaucratic centralism and, on the other hand, very different from anarchy."(1)

It is the policy of our party to properly coordinate the three economic interests, with attention to the individual interests of the laborer; this is a totally correct policy. However, it must be understood that the interests of society are the foundation of collective interests and the interests of the individual. The interests of the individual cannot be opposed to the interests of society or the interests of the collective, rather, they must have the interests of society and the interests of the collective as their foundation because, in the final analysis, the interests of the individual and the interests of the collective can only be satisfied on a long-term basis when the interests of society are satisfied. If we establish an incorrect relationship among the three interests, separate the interests of the individual from the interests of the collective and the interests of society or place the interests of the individual or the interests of the collective against the interests of society, we abandon the foundation of socialism, undermine this foundation, weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat and go against the principle of democratic centralism.

It is the policy of our party to tap the initiative and creativity of the localities and develop the financial autonomy of the enterprises within the framework of the unified, nationwide financial management system. All the monetary, credit and banking policies of the state are based on the principle of centralism and unity and all of these activities are under the exclusive management of the State Bank. The mistakes and deviations that have occurred within the financial and monetary field in the recent past are in violation of the principle of democratic centralism.

Guaranteeing the exclusive rights of the state in financial and monetary matters is an objective requirement. The dictatorship of the proletariat state must control financial and monetary matters and must use the financial and monetary systems as an effective tool in transforming and building the economy and distributing and redistributing the gross social product and national income along lines that support socialism, support the laboring

people in order to stimulate socialist transformation, strengthen the new production relations and establish state inventory and control of each and every economic activity. Therefore, failing to uphold the exclusive rights of the state concerning financial and monetary matters weakens the dictatorship of the proletariat state and relaxes the struggle between socialism and capitalism, which is an arduous, decisive and very complex struggle in the period of transition to socialism.

In keeping with the spirit of the resolutions of the 5th Party Congress, the various sectors and levels must fully respect the unity and discipline of the state concerning financial matters, the issuance of currency, prices and wages when establishing greater financial autonomy and greater independence in production and business, thereby putting an end to activities that are contrary to the unified policies and regulations that apply to the entire country and helping to restore the new, socialist order on the distribution-circulation front.

Strengthening the state's exclusive rights concerning financial matters and upholding state financial discipline are a very pressing requirement. V.I. Lenin said: "I support the widest possible autonomy for the local Soviet organizations; at the same time, however, I think that in order for our conscious transformation of the country to achieve results, we must adopt a unified and very clearly defined financial policy, the provisions of which must be implemented from the upper level to the lower level."(2)

Our policy of making the local level (the province and district) a budgetary level and establishing financial autonomy for enterprises is a totally correct policy; however, it does not ever mean that the unity of the state financial system or the exclusive rights of the central government are being weakened. This must be fully expressed when implementing the various policies concerning financial revenues and expenditures and state standards and ceilings; when complying with the bookkeeping and cost accounting procedures of the state; and when exercising state inventory, control and supervision by means of money of each production and business activity, each distribution of product and national income and every expenditure by all agencies and organizations, with no one being excluded from material or administrative responsibility and very stern disciplinary action being taken against every violation of the state's financial law.

The state budget, which is the basic financial plan, plays the dominant role as regards the different elements of the socialist financial system, such as enterprise finances, cooperative finances and bank credit. Within the state budget system, the central budget plays the dominant role.

To maintain the unity of the state financial system and the centralized management provided by the central government, it is necessary to practice financial discipline and discipline regarding the budget. Every source of revenue and every account payable of the state agencies must be fully reflected in the budget and managed in accordance with a budget approved by the authorized level; localities may not have sources of revenue that lie outside the budget. To fully comply with the regulations and policies of the state regarding financial revenues and expenditures, the localities must



remit, in full and on time, the revenues to be included in the state budget and may not retain budget revenues for the purposes of establishing "illicit funds" or making expenditures outside the budget.

There must be thorough compliance on the part of the localities with the policies and regulations that have been promulgated by the central level concerning credit and monetary matters, especially decision number 172/HDBT dated 9 October 1982 on monetary matters, credit and payment activities, with a view toward maintaining the role of the State Bank as the payment center, the credit center and the monetary center of the entire country, insuring that the State Bank controls the entire money market and insuring that the state controls the goods and the money needed to manage the national economy in accordance with the plan, serve the needs of everyday life and national defense well and put an end to the practice on the part of some agencies, corporations and state-operated enterprises of borrowing capital in the form of cash from private parties at high interest rates and an end to commercial credit. The agencies of the state, state-operated enterprises and economic organizations of the state may not keep within their units more cash than permitted under ceilings; the private enterprises and economic organizations must open bank accounts and make payments primarily by check.

The state has exclusive rights concerning foreign currency and the precious metals business; all foreign currency revenues and expenditures within the economy must be under the control of the state; all foreign currency, regardless of its source, must be deposited in the foreign currency funds of the state at the bank; holding, selling, trading or illegally using foreign currency, gold and silver are violations of the law. The state strictly prohibits private individuals doing business in money or granting interest bearing loans; the local governments have the responsibility of strengthening the management of the money market and prosecuting private individuals who make high interest loans under the law on the punishment for the crime of profiteering.

On the basis of intensifying the mobilization and improving the management of the idle money within the economy and among the people, the State Bank must continuously expand the granting of loans in order to meet every legitimate need of society for capital. The state-operated enterprises, state agencies, sectors and localities may not mobilize capital belonging to cadres, manual workers, civil servants or the people for their production or business operations.

In order to assist the State Bank in managing money and expanding credit in the countryside, it is necessary to develop the credit cooperatives in the rural areas of the South and strengthen the credit cooperatives in the rural areas of the North in exact accordance with the functions, tasks and operational regulations established for them by the State Bank.

The State Bank has the responsibility of fully and promptly meeting every reasonable need of the various units for cash. Units must open savings accounts at the bank and fully comply with the regulations of the state governing the management of cash and non-cash payments; they may not retain or spend more cash than agreed upon by the bank.

Private businessmen in industry, commerce and the services whose volume of business has reached the stipulated level must declare how much capital they have acquired and must open savings accounts at the bank in order to be issued a production or business license. Those businessmen who only open accounts but do not deposit cash in or make payments through the bank must be investigated and dealt with by the precinct or district government.

The bank must improve its payment procedures to insure that payments are made in a rapid, accurate and convenient manner and must agree to pay penalties in accordance with the material responsibility system of the state if it causes a delay in payment, makes a mistake in payment or causes a customer to suffer a loss.

The State Bank is the agency that has been granted exclusive business rights by the state with regard to foreign currency, gold, silver, other precious metals, precious gems and all documents that have a foreign currency value. The state strictly prohibits the hoarding, hiding, illegal use of or illegal businesses in foreign currency and documents that have a foreign currency value. The agencies, units and private enterprises that have foreign currency must report their holdings to the state and deposit their foreign currency in the state bank so that it can be converted into Vietnamese currency as required. All foreign currency expenditures must be made through the bank.

In the use of capital borrowed from the bank in the form of foreign currency, enterprises must comply with the regulations of the state governing the management of foreign currency, bank credit and exports-imports; they must insure that their production or business earns a profit in foreign currency, must repay their loans in foreign currency (both principal and interest) and must turn over the capital they accumulate in the form of foreign currency to the state.

In conjunction with strengthening the exclusiveness and the discipline of the state in financial and monetary matters, the state must broaden the financial autonomy of the production and business units as well as the independence of the sectors and localities and must guide the various sectors and levels in fully complying with decision number 146/HDBT dated 25 August 1982 on revising and amending decision number 25-CP with a view toward fully developing upon positive factors while promptly correcting and overcoming the mistakes and deviations at enterprises and basic units.

While criticizing the mode of management characterized by administrative procedures, bureaucracy and subsidization, removing the unreasonable constraints imposed by the old style of management and increasing the independence of the localities, installations and enterprises, we must uphold state discipline, uphold the socialist system of law and uphold the central level's right of centralized management concerning vital matters related to the entire country, to the entire national economy.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume 27, p 260.
2. Ibid., pp 487-488.

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## FURTHER IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF THE RESEARCH ON PARTY HISTORY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 83 pp 31-36

[Article by Huong Son]

[Text] Twenty years have passed since 24 January 1962, the day on which the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee issued resolution number 41/NQ-TU that established the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee and 18 September 1962, the day on which the Party Secretariat issued circular number 91/TT-TU that established the research on party history committees on the zone, provincial and municipal levels.

During these 20 years, the party history science sector in our country has struggled to overcome towering difficulties, continuously sent its troops into battle on the scientific research front and recorded noteworthy achievements.

Since its founding, the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee has focused its efforts on researching and summarizing the major issues in the history of the party. Several special books on history, such as "The Great Turning Point in the History of the Vietnamese Revolution," "The Nghe-Tinh Soviets," "Understanding the Nature and Characteristics of the August Revolution," "The August Revolution" and so forth, were published. From these, the department advanced to projects introducing, in abridged form, the history of the party, such as "The Thirty-Five Years of Activity of the Party," "The Forty Years of Activity of the Party," "The Forty-Five Years of Activity of the Party" and "President Ho Chi Minh, His Life and Work."

Besides these projects, the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee has also compiled and published "The Events in the History of the Party" (Volume 1 and Volume 2), "The Biography of Ton Duc Thang," "The Biography of Nguyen Luong Bang" and "Following the Example of the Communists" (Volume 1 and Volume 2), which presented in rather deep detail the events in the history of the party and the bright examples set by communist militants who preceded us.

The local research on party history committees have also compiled and published hundreds of research projects on local party history that have dealt with such topics as the August Revolution, events in the history of the party

organization, biographies of predecessors who performed many meritorious services for the movement, the bright examples set by outstanding communists, revolutionary memoirs and so forth. Some provinces have written abridged histories of their party organization during a specific period or the entire 40 years of activity of the party organization.

Since 1980, in order to join the entire party and all the people in commemorating the 50th anniversary of the founding of the party, the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin and the 90th anniversary of the birth of Ho Chi Minh and celebrate the 5th National Congress of the Party, the party history sector on the central and local levels has compiled and published many projects of value. The Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee has published "The Fifty Years of Activity of the Vietnam Communist Party" and has amended and republished "President Ho Chi Minh, His Life and Work" and "The August Revolution." In early 1982, it published "The History of the Vietnam Communist Party(Draft, Volume I)." This was a scientific research project for which painstaking preparations were made and which was carried out in an urgent fashion. The achievements mentioned above are the results of a process of creative labor by the party history sector over the past 20 years. Also during this time, nearly 30 books in the form of special histories or draft histories of local party organizations have been published. Eleven provinces and municipalities have published abridged versions of their party organizations' history over the last half century or at least up until 1954.

The significant achievement of the various books entitled "Draft History of the Party" published on the central and local levels is that they provide much new material, clarify the process of the formation and growth of our party and shed light on the laws of development of the Vietnamese revolution, thereby helping to build the tradition of unity and unyielding struggle of our people under the leadership of the party in the struggle for national independence and socialism and helping to enrich the storehouse of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The publication within the same period of time of more than 30 works on party history on both the central and the local levels, several of which are quite detailed, reflects major efforts on the part of those persons whose job it is to research and compile party history. These works have sketched a portion of the picture of party history, shed light on the circumstances behind the correct and creative policies of the party, researched universal laws, uncovered specific, special characteristics, provided statistics, data and illustrations and begun the effort to learn lessons from history. Although abridged in format, some of these books are 300 pages long. "The History of the Vietnam Communist Party (Draft, Volume I)" is 800 pages thick. Clearly, this represents a new step forward by the party history science sector.

This achievement not only marks a stage of growth, a spirit of creative labor and a bold advance into science on the part of the party history science sector, but also proves and confirms in practical terms that the guidelines adopted by the Party Central Committee for the party history sector, namely, that the compilation of material be conducted first, that the central level and the localities write party history together, that long-range research be coordinated with immediate work and so forth, are totally correct.

In its 20 years of development and growth, the party history science sector has learned valuable lessons and gained valuable experience with which to constantly improve the quality of the research on party history.

The foremost and overriding lesson is the lesson that has been learned regarding how and by which means to correctly reflect historic fact.

History is objective reality. However, it is not easy to determine and correctly reflect historic fact, to understand the full value of historic fact. Because, historic fact is expressed through countless phenomena which demand that the researcher engage in painstaking study, strip away the external shell that covers these phenomena and reveal their essence, that is, reveal the laws of history. Moreover, the science of party history as well as the other sciences must not only correctly recognize the laws of the objective world, but must also discover how to apply these objective laws to the practical activities of man.

The experience of the years spent researching and compiling the history of the party show that two processes are involved in clarifying historic fact. They are: drawing an accurate picture of events and historic processes; summarizing the experiences that have been gained, determining the essence of phenomena and shedding light on the laws of history.

These two processes are inextricably linked to each other. Without drawing an accurate picture of historic events and processes, one lacks the point of departure needed to reach the second process, the summarizing of experiences and the discovery of laws. Conversely, to compile party history by merely describing historic events and not elevating them to the level of generalities, not summarizing the experiences gained and not trying to determine the laws governing the development of history is to merely record past happenings; it is, in other words, nothing more than the telling of "stories about the past," nothing more than "the collecting of artifacts."

The value of an historical research project is determined by the matters that it outlines concerning the laws governing the development of the revolution and the discoveries it makes concerning the relationship among the past, the present and the future.

Thus, how do we achieve this objective? At the conference commemorating the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee (7 February 1977), Truong Chinh pointed out that the necessary requirements of a project in researching and compiling party history are:

a--Presenting, in a scientific manner, the lines and policies of the party in the various stages and periods of the revolutionary campaign in our country;

b--Presenting, in a scientific manner, the revolutionary movements conducted by the masses to implement these lines and policies;

c--Presenting the programs and measures adopted to build the party with a view toward insuring the successful implementation of the political line and the performance of the task of the party in the various stages and periods;

d--Presenting the experiences gained by the party in leading the revolution during each stage and each period as well as the general experiences of the party and reaching conclusions in the nature of theory."(1)

Another extremely important lesson and experience is the need to have the necessary amount of accurate historic materials. Without truly abundant sources of truly accurate materials, it is impossible to restore the true picture of history and, in addition, history is sometimes distorted by the subjective views of the writer. The poor quality and the brevity of some historical records and the fact that some recently published books have not represented events in a truly accurate manner are due to the lack of historical materials. Therefore, the greatest possible effort must be made to acquire an abundance of materials and to conduct research and analysis on this basis. Of course, we should not "sit and wait" for a truly adequate supply of materials to develop before beginning to write. In the specific situation we face now, the first requirement is to have the necessary quantity of accurate materials and absolutely not use materials that are not firmly based in fact. Historical materials must be fully investigated, researched and evaluated. This is very complicated work, work that involves a process of scientific, strict and detailed labor. The basic requirement of a work involving historical research is that it must clearly present historical circumstances, specific policies and materials that are accurate in terms of time, place and the results of actions taken. The best method is to provide illustrations by means of statistics, diagrams, charts, pictures and objects as this method will result in a work of high scientific value.

Clearly defining the circumstances of history in each stage and each period of history is a matter to which full attention must be given. The realities of the revolution are always developing in a very interesting manner. Le Duan observed: "Our party led our people in carrying out two revolutions and waging two wars: the August Revolution and the revolution in the South and the wars of resistance against the French imperialists and the U.S. imperialists. Although they had many basic points in common, these two revolutions and two wars also differed in many ways: then enemies we faced were different, the comparison of forces was different, international circumstances were different, combat objectives were different and the development of the wars was different."(2) How can we reflect these very stark realities if we do not have a firm grasp of the historical setting in which they occurred?

Shedding light on historical background also means pointing out the vital and pressing needs raised by each stage and period of history, needs which demanded that our party adopt correct strategies and tactics or policies and programs in order to promptly meet them.

The experience recently gained in the writing of "The History of the Vietnam Communist Party (Draft, Volume I)" shows that in the very first chapter, when analyzing the special characteristics of history, they gave attention to

clearly presenting the various matters that were in the nature of laws and how the leadership provided by the party was consistent with these characteristics and laws. The subsequent chapters present the general features of the world situation that were related to the Vietnamese revolution, discuss the strategies and tactics of the enemy and analyze the comparison of forces between ourselves and the enemy in each stage and period of history. As regards the history of the local party organizations, attention is given mainly to describing the impact of the domestic situation upon the locality, describing the schemes and tricks of the enemy within the locality and analyzing the comparison of forces between ourselves and the enemy in specific areas of the locality. On this basis, the scientific base underlying the correct and creative revolutionary methods and strategic objectives adopted by the party to meet the vital and pressing needs of the revolution is clarified, thereby correctly reflecting the laws of development of history.

Presenting the failures, shortcomings and mistakes in history in a way that is scientific and reflects the spirit of the party is another lesson that has been learned. The spirit of the party and the spirit of science are one, are organically related to each other. If we take away the spirit of science, the spirit of the party no longer exists. Conversely, if we take away the spirit of the party, there is no purpose for having a scientific spirit.

The problem we face is that of presenting matters in exact accordance with historic truth. The historic truth of the party over the past half century and more has been the history of the brave, unyielding and gloriously victorious struggle waged by our party and our people. However, as Lenin pointed out: "Man does not immediately become a saint as soon as a revolution begins. The laboring classes, which have been oppressed, deceived and kept in poverty, ignorance and barbarity for centuries cannot complete the revolution without making mistakes." (3) President Ho also said: "Our party has won many large victories but not without making some mistakes. However, we have never concealed our mistakes, rather, we have engaged in honest self-criticism and taken positive steps to rectify our mistakes." (4)

Of themselves, the brilliant victories that have been won by the Vietnamese revolution over the past half century and more prove that our party's leadership is wise and talented. These are the basic, primary features of party leadership. However, in the process of providing this leadership, our party has also committed shortcomings and make mistakes; however, these have only been temporary and partial in nature. When explaining the leadership that has been provided by the party, it is also necessary to present the shortcomings and mistakes that have been made. However, attention must be given to pointing out the temporary nature of these shortcomings and mistakes so that the reader does not misunderstand them. To accomplish this, attention must be given to analyzing, in a correct and scientific manner, both the subjective and objective causes of shortcomings and mistakes and explaining how the party discovered and corrected these shortcomings and mistakes. When presenting cases in which the revolution encountered difficulties or suffered losses, it is necessary to adopt a dialectical point of view and clearly point out that the difficulties and setbacks encountered were only temporary, that the progress and development of the revolution were inevitable. As regards current issues, it is necessary to praise the new, positive factors that are



emerging and developing. This is totally consistent with the law of the development of things and also reflects the oneness between party spirit and the spirit of science.

Another experience that has been gained involves selecting and writing about persons in history. Party history is the history of a large revolutionary organization consisting of thousands, tens of thousands, millions of cadres, party members and people fighting in every field of social life. Of course, indispensable in this relationship are the tremendous role and impact of persons who have been leaders, especially of persons who have played a decisive role in each period of history. Essential here is the need to have genuine, accurate materials and a correct methodology in order to evaluate persons in history in a scientific manner.

On the basis of the principles of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, the instructions provided by leaders of the party and the experience gained over many years, we see that the best way to overcome the difficulties and limitations that are encountered under present conditions when conducting research and attempting to verify facts is to present typical persons who provide bright examples for cadres, party members and the masses to follow. These are truly representative characters that have been researched and verified on a scientific basis. Every effort must be made to avoid a general, abstract style of writing; however, we also must not delve into the personal lives of our characters and must not exaggerate or "modernize" their views or actions. The role played by the individual must be set within the framework of its close relationship to the larger role played by the party organization and the masses in history. Mention should not be made of the names of persons who were once representatives but who later betrayed the cause, surrendered, opposed the party, degenerated or became deviant. The selection of persons who once performed a great service but later committed a serious mistake must, even though they do not belong to the type mentioned above, be carefully considered. Whether or not their names should be mentioned and in which context they names can be properly mentioned are questions that must be answered by the specialized agency, are questions that the authorized party committee echelon must decide and assume responsibility for deciding. This is also a matter of principle related to party spirit and the spirit of science.

As regards the writing of books on the histories of the local party organizations, one experience that has been gained is the need to reflect, in a correct and vivid fashion, the dialectical relationship between events of importance to the entire party and events of the locality and local party organization. The tendency to present too many materials and events concerning the entire nation and present them in such deep detail that they overshadow the history of the locality and the tendency to only give attention to presenting local circumstances and only relating them in some minor way to the events of importance to the entire nation, both of which have been seen in a number of chapters and passages of some recently published books, are unscientific manifestations of the dialectic of history.

The histories of the local party organizations are an integral part of the history of the party nationwide. Every activity of the local party organizations serves the leadership of the Party Central Committee.

The salient features of a book on the history of a local party organization are explaining how the lines and policies of the party have been applied to the specific circumstances of the locality (not explaining what a line or policy entails) and presenting primarily local events and materials. As a result, it is necessary to shed light on the specific programs, measures, forms of organization and methods adopted by the locality to implement the correct and creative line of the party. All of the activities involved in party building and the movements of the masses have this as their objective; the experiences gained on the basis of the special characteristics of the locality should also be presented. In one area of endeavor or another, the local party organization might have made a specific innovation or contribution to the formulation of the party's line and the development of the revolutionary movement throughout the country; however, these innovations and contributions are not the main subject matter of a book on the history of the local party organization. The history of the local party organization, regardless of how rich or unique this history might be, is still part of the common history of the party nationwide. The correctness and creativity of the local party organization cannot be separated from the correctness and creativity of the party; and, the revolutionary movement within the locality, regardless of how strong it might be, is always directly influenced by the revolutionary movement throughout the country. Therefore, when presenting the history of a local party organization, reasonable mention must be made of how the country's general situation, how the revolutionary movement throughout the country and within adjacent localities directly affected the locality, especially how the locality applied the lines and policies of the party in each stage and period of history. Only by shedding light on these matters is it possible to differentiate between a book on the national history of the party and a book on the history of a local party organization and insure that books on the history of local party organizations are accurate, rich and diverse in content, in keeping with the nature and history of a party organization.

In addition, an important requirement regarding projects involving research on party history is that they be written in language that is clear, that they be structured in a reasonable and scientific manner and that an effort be made to present history in an interesting instead of a dry and dull fashion. This is a difficult matter, one that requires much painstaking study and experimentation.

Researching and writing the history of the party as well as the histories of the local party organizations are important and very difficult work. They demand of us, primarily of those of us who research and write history, major efforts in many areas. We must continue to work and learn in order to gain much more experience and conduct better research projects with each passing day.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Truong Chinh: "Intensifying the Research on Party History," published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee, Hanoi, 1978, p 8.

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## ORGANIZATIONAL SKILL AND THE FORGING OF ORGANIZATIONAL SKILL

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 83 pp 37-40, 46

[Article by Nguyen Hai Khoat]

[Text] The forging of organizational skill has become one of the matters of pressing importance to the corps of leadership cadres and management cadres in the present stage of the revolution. Le Duan has frequently pointed out that "what we lack very much is the skill to organize economic construction and development, cultural development and the support of the daily lives of the people."(1) The Political Report of the Vietnam Communist Party at the 5th National Congress of Delegates also confirmed: "The realities of the past several years have also shown the weaknesses and shortcomings of the party in its leadership of the economy and society; these are evident in the shortcomings in implementing and concretizing the line of the party, in the ability to perform practical organizational work and in a style of leadership that, in many ways, is inconsistent with the requirements of the new stage."(2)

In fact, although we have a large corps of management cadres, a significant number of whom have worked for many years and achieved a certain level of educational and specialization, the results of the work performed by many comrades are still not high and do not meet the requirements of the present stage of the revolution. Is this because these cadres lack organizational skill or have not developed this skill to the necessary level? We know that management results depend upon external, objective factors and internal, subjective factors. When external factors are the same, the person who possesses organizational skill will surely achieve higher results than persons who do not possess this skill. Lenin often said: "Every management job demands special traits. A person may be an outstanding revolutionary and agitator but be totally unsuited to serving as an administrative cadre."(3) That which Lenin called "special traits" are the basic characteristics of a person who possesses organizational skill. Thus, it is clear that persons who do not possess organizational skill cannot perform good management work. Therefore, attention absolutely must be given to this standard when selecting or training management cadres.

The first basic characteristic of a person who possesses organizational skill is psychological sensitivity, which is expressed in the ability to quickly

delve into the world of the inner feelings of others, ascertain their attitudes, aspirations and thoughts and easily sympathizing with them; in addition, a person who possesses organizational skill must also be able to correctly recognize the qualities and basic abilities of others. It can be said that President Ho was a model of psychological sensitivity. It was this psychological sensitivity that made him a person who strongly influenced others and was very persuasive: "When meeting him, even his enemies, even notorious anti-communists had to admire him; in his presence, it seemed as though their fiery tempers cooled significantly."(4)

Along with psychological sensitivity, a practical mind is also a very important requirement. We know that in the process of providing management, the leader must perform the important function of carrying out the two basic jobs involved in the establishment of a management apparatus, establishing the structure of the management apparatus and selecting and appointing cadres and personnel. At the same time, as the situation develops, the structure of this apparatus must be changed to suit new requirements. A practical mind helps the leader to perform this work successfully. With the knowledge of the basic qualities and abilities of subordinate cadres that he has acquired through his psychological sensitivity, the leader who possesses a practical mind will know which position within the apparatus of his unit or agency is best suited to each person so that he can make full use of and highly develop upon their strengths just like a skilled carpenter uses large pieces of wood, small pieces of wood, straight pieces and curved pieces. It can be said that a practical mind is one of the salient characteristics of a person who possesses organizational skill. The work being performed in socialist construction today is much more diverse and complex than the work performed in past years. We often encounter many jobs today that cannot be performed by "charging bravely forward" or "assaulting an objective"; rather, they must be performed by means of detailed, cautious organizational work, which includes the need to "give attention to discovering and challenging, in a very patient and careful manner, persons who truly possess organizational talent"(5) in order to "promote them to positions from which they can lead the efforts of the people"(6), a position in which a practical mind is even more necessary. It is regrettable that we still have management cadres who do not possess this quality, as a result of which "blacksmiths are building cabinets and carpenters are forging knives"(7), thereby wasting much of the potential creative labor of cadres and their subordinate personnel.

Organizational and management work primarily has persons, specific persons with their own characters, their own strengths and their own private lives, as its object. How can we win the support of such persons and generate within them enthusiasm for their work? Skill in dealing with others plays a significant role in this effort. This is the ability to determine the best possible way to deal with each person in specific situations. For example, one person might require informal encouragement, another might require a gentle reminder, still another might require harsh criticism, etc. This is the ability to disseminate, in a "subtle" fashion, experiences and knowledge to subordinates in order to help them achieve higher results in their work.

Of course, skill in handling others does not mean standing on ceremony when dealing with others or treating others in an insincere, rude or simplistic

manner. It is something that must come from love and respect for man and conform with the spirit of communist humanism combined with the art of conducting oneself in a highly cultured manner. Lenin demanded that the leader "be able to gain the participation of the masses" and our party maintains that leaders "must be able to assemble subordinate cadres and laborers." In order to meet this requirement, the leader must possess the necessary educational and specialized qualifications, display exemplary ethics, be politically mature and farsighted. However, these qualities alone are not enough. The leader must also be skilled in dealing with others before he can assemble and gain the participation of large numbers of persons in the work at hand.

Another important characteristic of a person who is skilled in organizational work is the ability to affect subordinates, that is, the ability to spread his confidence and will to them and to gain their participation in the work being performed. Here, such qualities as courage, determination, boldness and setting examples, play a large role. It is necessary to think about matters in a careful, thorough and scientific manner in order to reach correct management decisions and promptly issue them. Once a decision has been issued, determined steps must be taken to thoroughly organize its implementation without hesitating or wavering in the face of remarks by others. On the other hand, the person who possesses organizational skill must survey the constructive opinions of everyone else in order to promptly revise or amend his decision. There are even times when it is necessary to bravely "rectify mistakes" or "cancel" incorrect decisions that one has made.

One of the prerequisites to a leadership cadre or management cadre having an effect upon others is that he be very demanding. In the process of providing management, the leader must assign responsibilities to subordinates and demand that they fully implement the decisions he has made to insure that the entire management apparatus operates well. Therefore, being very demanding (or being strict) is also a characteristic of a person who possesses management skill. To accomplish this, the leader must be able to establish a system of increasingly high and increasingly complex requirements for each person to meet. And, when disseminating these requirements to each person, he must take into consideration the attitudes of the collective and the psychological traits of each person so that they accept these requirements fully, display an attitude of confidence and comply with them fully. Ordinarily, only leadership and management cadres who are flexible and creative possess this ability. Persons who are rigid or intemperate in the way that they think and in the way that they deal with others are prone to setting requirements for subordinates that are stiff or arbitrary. We know that "wherever there are people, there are three types: the enthusiastic type, the moderate type and the indifferent type. And, of these three types, there are always many more persons of the moderate types, of the middle type and fewer persons of the enthusiastic type and the indifferent type." (8) All of the facts require that leadership cadres and management cadres be more demanding of their subordinates. And, to achieve this, they must first be very demanding of themselves. Being very demanding of oneself requires that the leadership cadre and management cadre routinely and seriously examine, evaluate and analyze his own work and the work of his unit as well as his ethical behavior and conduct. Critical thinking is an indispensable quality of a leadership

cadre or management cadre. At places where leaders are totally satisfied with their work, we begin to see signs of their decline. The spirit of criticism is a special supervisor of the activities of every leader; it is that which insures that the leader avoids an attitude of self-satisfaction and unfounded optimism. Without possessing the spirit of criticism, one cannot make progress in one's work.

Another special characteristic of a person who possesses organizational skill is steadfast enthusiasm for organizational activities. Only those persons who, in the course of their management work, have created within themselves a steadfast need for and interest in organizational activities can become a skilled organizer.

The above is only an analysis of some of the basic psychological traits of a person who possesses organizational skill. A more important matter is that of how to forge this skill.

To achieve organizational skill, the first requirement of every leadership cadre and management cadre is that they make every effort to study, to gain a truly firm grasp on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the lines and policies of the party. It can be said that this is the premise to the development of organizational skill. Of course, revolutionary zeal is the foremost requirement of every cadre because, without it, he cannot perform any revolutionary job, not to mention leading and organizing the masses in revolutionary activities. However, as necessary as revolutionary zeal is, performing revolutionary work in a scientific manner is even more necessary. Only when this zeal is based in science is it steadfast, properly oriented zeal that yields practical returns. Facts have shown that emphasizing zeal while giving light attention to science and replacing science with zeal have led to painful results.

The scientific nature of revolutionary work is evident in the fact that each decision is based on laws, on the specific historic conditions of objective reality. Implementing the "war time communist policy," shifting to the "new economic policy" and so forth, all of these important decisions by Lenin did not arise from subjective desires, but were based in science. The basis of correct decisions is always the laws governing objective reality. There is no other way to learn these laws, to act in accordance with them, to improve one's ability to scientifically analyze society, promptly discover antagonisms, understand the essence of things, predict the prospects for development, avoid being subjective and onesided when analyzing the situation and deciding policies and so forth than to acquire a profound knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and the lines and policies of the party.

To forge organizational skill, the leadership cadre and management cadre must, in addition to having a firm grasp of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the lines and policies of the party, also possess certain knowledge of many different fields of science, such as the science of organization, the science of economic management, the science of social management, psychology, the natural sciences and so forth. During the period in which the party is leading the government in transforming the old society and building the new, the cadres of the party, especially leadership cadres and management cadres,

must make an effort to study many fields of science. As their knowledge of the various fields of science becomes broader and deeper, their ability to act in accordance with laws increases as does the scientific nature of the actions they take.

In addition, in the effort to forge organizational skill, special attention must be given to cultivating the trait of empathy for others. This empathy arises on the basis of a profound class love of the laboring people, on the basis of a rich life and strong and keen insight. Many foreigners have discussed the unusual influence that President Ho exerted. Some say that President Ho possessed this unusual influence because he was a person who possessed broad knowledge, unparalleled intelligence and extraordinary determination and energy. Many others say that it was because he was a modest, simple person who possessed profound optimism and confidence, was forthright and open, was experienced and so forth. All of these observations are correct. However, overriding all of them was the profound empathy, the devotion to others and the vast love of his fellow man that were within President Ho.

As a result of empathy, the leader can place himself in the position of those to whom he is speaking, understand their feelings, aspirations and thoughts and sympathize with their needs; on this basis, he can establish correct relations with everyone in order to gain their effective participation in the work at hand. However, empathy does not mean considering others the same as oneself, considering others to be "copies" of oneself and then making the mistake of considering oneself to be the measure of others.

Empathy can only be cultivated through contacts with the masses, by placing oneself within the revolutionary movement of the masses, keeping abreast of reality, truly becoming involved in life and diligently analyzing the events that occur in life. By making an effort to get in touch with everyone, by placing oneself in the position of the person with whom we are speaking and by attentively listening to and then analyzing their feelings and thoughts, we will gradually cultivate empathy.

#### FOOTNOTES

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4. Vo Nguyen Giap: "Years and Months That Cannot Be Forgotten," Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 91.
5. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume 27, p 330.



6. Ibid.
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## LONG PHU--A STRONG DISTRICT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 83 pp 41-46

[Article by Nguyen Kien Phuoc]

[Text] Long Phu is a coastal district in southeastern Hau Giang Province that is divided into two areas, an islet area and a mainland area, which lies along the Bat Xac River. Long Phu measures 69,000 hectares, 36,000 hectares of which are farmland (consisting of 32,000 hectares under the cultivation of rice and 4,000 hectares under the cultivation of industrial and fruit crops). Long Phu has 20 kilometers of coastline and a dense network of rivers, streams and canals, which are very well suited to agricultural production and transportation.

Long Phu has 19 villages and 1 town; 15 villages are located on the mainland and 4 are on Dung Islet; the district has 105 hamlets and a population of 182,000, approximately 50,000 of whom belong to the Khmer ethnic minority and 10,000 of whom are of Chinese ancestry. The labor force consists of 85,000 persons, 95 percent of whom are agricultural laborers.

In the transformation and the building of the district, Long Phu has encountered more than a few difficulties. The greatest difficulty has been the fact that as much as 75 percent of the district's agricultural land was polluted by salt throughout the year and could only be used to raise one 10th month rice crop; prior to liberation day, rice yields were very low (never exceeding 2 tons per hectare). Before liberation, the majority of rice fields belonged to landowners, wealthy farmers and puppet hoodlums. Nearly 7,000 of the 27,000 households of laboring farmers had no land or lacked land for production; about 7,000 hectares were heavily polluted by salt and sulfates and had to be left fallow; more than 5,000 hectares of gardens had been destroyed by the bombs and shells of the enemy. During the first years following liberation, Long Phu only raised crops on 26,000 hectares. As a result, the living conditions of farmers were very difficult; hunger was chronic; Long Phu had to provide hunger relief to 40,000 persons.

The district had virtually nothing by way of material bases. The entire district only had 10 milling enterprises, 1 forge and a few installations producing soysauce and fish sauce; much of the water conservancy, road and bridge networks had been destroyed. Long Phu "which consists of Long Phu

District and former Lich Hoi Thuong District) had only 5 schools and 60 classrooms, which were concentrated within the town and around the enemy's police stations. In the countryside, virtually all of the children of laboring farmers were uneducated and more than 10,000 adults were illiterate. The entire district had but one medical aid station, four maternity clinics and not one cultural project.

Taking advantage of the difficult situation that existed during the first years following liberation, the enemy looked for ways to sabotage us in many different areas. They intensified their psychological war and propaganda campaign, slandered our system and distorted the lines and policies of the party and state. They also organized the assassination of cadres, tried to provoke armed rebellion, sowed hatred among the compatriots of the various ethnic minorities and so forth.

Although the Long Phu party organization was established at an early date, it endured many sacrifices and suffered numerous losses in the long and savage fight against the enemy, consequently, when we entered the stage of peaceful construction, it did not have the organization or the cadres needed to promptly meet the requirements of the new situation and tasks. Following liberation day, the entire party organization only had 280 members, but they were unevenly distributed, being found primarily on the islets and in the villages. Each party chapter had but five or six members, the majority of whom only had a 3rd or 4th grade education. More than 75 percent of the hamlets had no party member. The committees and sectors of the government and the mass organizations from the district to the basic levels lacked cadres and those cadres that they did have were weak, especially with regard to managing the economy and society.

In keeping with the line and policies of the party, with the direct guidance of the Hau Giang Provincial Party Committee and on the basis of the district's specific situation, the Long Phu party organization established four emergency tasks: making every effort to restore production, rapidly overcoming the aftereffects of the war, taking positive steps to resolve the problems of hunger and unemployment and stabilizing the living conditions of the laboring people; quickly abolishing the ownership of cropland by landowners and wealthy farmers, confiscating the cropland of puppet hoodlums and distributing and providing cropland to persons who had no land or lacked land so that they could engage in production with peace of mind; maintaining political security and social order and safety and strengthening and building the local military forces to serve as the firm base of the people in their effort to transform and build the district; strengthening and developing the organizations of the party and urgently providing cadre training, especially on the basic level, in order to meet the requirements of immediate and long-range tasks and increase the fighting strength and the organizational skill of the various organizations of the party while struggling to purify the party's corps, taking positive steps to develop the party and strengthening the system of government agencies and mass organizations from the district level to the basic level in the villages and hamlets.

After liberation day, in order to perform these tasks, Long Phu concentrated all its efforts and intelligence on rapidly healing the wounds of the war and

gaining the participation of the people of Long Phu in the effort to restore agricultural production, primarily rice production, for the purposes of eliminating hunger and unemployment and basically stabilizing their standard of living.

Long Phu quickly confiscated the cropland of landowners and rural bourgeoisie and all the cropland of the hoodlums that were once members of the puppet army or government and distributed it to farmers who had no land or lacked land.

At the very outset, Long Phu clearly established that the agricultural production guidelines of the district are to practice intensive cultivation, practice multicropping and open new land to the cultivation of rice. In keeping with its production planning, the district was divided into three zones: the fresh water zone (which is only polluted by salt for 3 months), where rice production could be increased to two crops per year consisting of a summer-fall crop and a 10th month crop; the salt water zone where positive steps would be taken to build water conservancy projects and gradually replace salt water with fresh water in order to insure one stable rice crop per year and gradually introduce a second crop: one rice and one subsidiary food crop or two rice crops; and the islet villages rich in alluvial soil, where the production of industrial crops, such as sugarcane and coconuts, would be centralized and only a small amount of land would be kept under the cultivation of rice in order to meet local grain needs.

Over the past several years, in accordance with these guidelines, Long Phu has launched a strong attack on the water conservancy front, considering it to be the most important effort in acceleration agricultural production. The water conservancy targets established by the Long Phu party organization are: to coordinate large-scale projects with medium and small-scale projects to block the flow of salt water, reduce soil acidity, leach sulfates from the soil, insure a stable 10th month rice crop and gradually achieve a high rice output; to replace salt water with fresh water in each zone and endeavor to expand the amount of area being used for multicropping; and, finally, to provide irrigation to areas of newly opened land. Every water conservancy project must support rice production and provide a means of transportation. The water conservancy work of Long Phu has been carried out together with the cooperativization movement and the establishment of the new production relations in the countryside. Over the past 7 years, Long Phu has mobilized nearly 8 million mandays, excavated more than 10 million cubic meters of dirt and stone and completed 1,300 large, medium and small-scale water conservancy projects. The 59 kilometer dike line from Dai Ngai to the Mo O estuary, which has a 12 meter base and a 6 meter surface and is 1.5 meters high, and the 25 kilometer national defense communications dike line from Mo O to the Long Phu estuary together with scores of auxiliary projects have completely blocked the flow of salt water from the South China Sea into fields; as a result, rice fields have been improved and many areas can now retain rainwater and canal water to support production. Nearly 300 production collectives (of the 433 that have been established) of the district have completed the construction of small-scale water conservancy projects within fields.

By the end of 1982, water conservancy projects were providing irrigation and drainage to 4,300 hectares of summer-fall rice and impeding the flow of salt

water, reducing soil acidity and leaching sulfates on 18,600 hectares of early, high yield 10th month rice. Long Phu is the district that leads Hau Giang Province in terms of the tremendous results that have been achieved in many areas as a result of water conservancy.

In conjunction with launching a strong and continuous attack on the water conservancy front, Long Phu has attached very much importance to guiding the rapid introduction of new varieties of rice in production with a view toward developing collectives, hamlets and villages that record increasingly high rice yields and output.

The Nong Nghiep 3A, 6A, 7A and 8A rice varieties, which are high yield summer-fall and winter-spring varieties, and the Nong Nghiep 2B, 4B and 5B varieties, which are high yield early 10th month and middle 10th month varieties, were first propagated and introduced in main crop production by Long Phu. Long Phu has put together a system of rice varieties consisting of 20 different types of 10th month and summer-fall production, all of which are resistant to pests and bear high yields. At present, Long Phu is establishing 200 hectares of the KT rice variety, which was developed from the KT 1 and KT 8 varieties, withstands salt water and is resistant to sulfates, in preparation for next year's 10th month season. Today, 80 percent of Long Phu's fields are directly sown with new rice varieties.

As a result of implementing the guidelines of practicing intensive cultivation, practicing multicropping and opening new land and taking positive steps to apply advances in agricultural science and technology in production, especially water conservancy and new varieties, Long Phu has achieved encouraging results. All three production norms, the amount of area under cultivation, the yield and the output of rice, have risen markedly. The cultivation of rice increased from 26,000 hectares in 1975 to 36,300 hectares in 1982. Average rice yield per hectare rose from 2.8 tons in 1980 to 3.55 tons in 1982. Grain output, primarily rice output, increased from only 56,000 tons in 1975 to 106,000 tons in 1981 and 136,405 tons in 1982. Average income per capita has risen from 300 kilograms per year following liberation day to 740 kilograms per year today, the highest in the province. Besides rice, Long Phu has also quickly opened land to the cultivation of sugarcane: in 1982, 2,500 hectares were under the cultivation of sugarcane, twice as much as in 1979. Livestock production has also developed rather well, especially hog production. In 1982, hog output, market weight, was 3,500 tons, a two-fold increase compared to 1979.

The achievements recorded by Long Phu District in agricultural production over the past several years have been closely linked to the results achieved in agricultural transformation.

After liberation day, Long Phu distributed cropland to farmers while mobilizing them to join such collective organizations as work rotation and exchange teams, solidarity teams and production collectives. As of the end of 1982, Long Phu had established 433 production collectives (200 of which have implemented product contracts), which have absorbed 61.8 percent of farm households and 58.9 percent of the rice fields of the entire district. In addition, Long Phu has organized 150 production solidarity teams consisting of

3,600 households and 3,670 hectares of cropland. These two forms of organization have brought 70.4 percent of cropland and 73.5 percent of farm households into collective production. There are six installations that have completed the establishment of production collectives. They are the towns of Long Phu and Lich Hoi Thuong and the villages of Long Phu, Tan Hung, Tan Thanh and Lieu Tu. In four other villages, production collectives have absorbed more than 75 percent of farm households. Long Phu is endeavoring to complete the transformation of agriculture through the two forms of cooperatives and production collectives by 1985. Generally speaking, all production collectives have displayed their superiority over private production, production has continuously developed, rice yields have increased and the standard of living of the people is far different than it was when people "worried only about themselves."

Besides developing agricultural production and carrying out agricultural transformation, Long Phu has gradually restored and built small industry and artisan installations. Today, Long Phu has a system consisting of 90 rice mills (16 of which are state-operated and have a total capacity of 80,000 tons per year) and 150 sugarcane processing plants with a capacity of 20,000 tons of raw sugar per year. It has constructed one machine shop, two repair stations and 40 other small repair installations. The output of small industry and the artisan trades reached 14 million dong in 1981 and 27 million dong in 1982.

On the basis of developing production, the Long Phu party organization has gradually organized the material and cultural lives of the people well, established a number of very important initial material-technical bases and is making more contributions to the country with each passing day. Compared to the bleak situation that existed following the war, social life in Long Phu has undergone marked change over the past several years. Hunger has been totally eliminated, unemployment no longer exists and the material and spiritual lives of the people are stable and are constantly being improved. The face of the countryside has constantly improved. In keeping with the guidelines "the state and the people working together" and "the central level, the local level and the basic level working together," Long Phu launched a movement to rebuild itself primarily by means of its own efforts and money. Education, public health, cultural activities, the repair of roads and bridges, the construction of schools and cultural halls, the training of teachers and so forth have become the common work of the people of the district. During the past 3 years, Long Phu met and exceeded all norms on the mobilization of grain and food products. During the same period of time, it contributed to the state 90,000 tons of paddy, more than 1,700 tons of pork, live weight, 4,800 tons of sugar, 3.7 million coconuts and so forth.

The maintenance of political security, the maintenance of social order and safety and the national defense task have been carried out well; the movement of all the people participating in the defense of the fatherland has developed in both breadth and depth. Long Phu has fulfilled its military obligation in an excellent fashion for 3 years in a row, etc.

Long Phu has given special attention to party building. The teaching of politics and ideology to party members has been considered a matter of

importance and has created a high degree of unanimity and absolute confidence on the part of the party organization and people of Long Phu concerning the line of the party. This has served as the basis for building greater determination to overcome the difficulties being faced and work in a dedicated, steadfast manner to complete the assigned task. Revolutionary-offensive thinking, self-reliance and creativity have become the dominant aspect of every activity of the party organization and the people. Organizationally, the Long Phu party organization, the nucleus of which is the district party organization executive committee, is a united bloc of persons who love one another in the spirit of comradeship, who struggle in a manner conforming with reason and sentiment to achieve a high degree of unanimity concerning the line and policies of the party and who know how to tap the intelligence of the collective to serve the revolution. The district party organization has attached importance to increasing the number and the quality of party members on the basic level. Fourteen members of the district party committee have been assigned to serve as village secretaries; 23 of the 35 district party committee members regularly keep abreast of and guide the various movements on the basic level. The Long Phu party organization has attached very much importance to developing the party and bringing within party ranks new forces to supplement the party organization; at the same time, it has been determined to expel from its ranks elements that have slipped into individualism or opportunism, have degenerated or become deviant. Over the past 3 years, the Long Phu party organization has accepted 420 persons into the party and expelled 103 persons from the party. The problem of some hamlets not having party members has been resolved; today, every hamlet has a party cell or party member and 30 hamlets have established party chapters. This represents very welcome growth on the part of the Long Phu party organization. The issuance of party membership cards in Long Phu was completed in 1981, with 96 percent of party members receiving membership cards; of the 47 party chapters and basic party organizations, 21 are rated as strong units and the rest are rated as good units.

The elementary and advanced training of cadres on the various levels and within the different committees and sectors, especially on the basic level, is considered a matter of importance by the Long Phu party organization. During the past 3 years, hundreds of cadres have been sent to political, cultural and professional classes.

Much progress has been made in strengthening the government and mass organizations and improving work methods, thereby significantly correcting the phenomenon of the party committee echelons performing or taking over the work of the government.

During the past several years, as a result of the achievements mentioned above, Long Phu has been awarded five 3rd Class Labor Medals by the state and presented with a bouquet of flowers by the late President Ton Duc Thang. In addition, Long Phu has received very many certificates of commendation from the various ministries and the province. Recently, Long Phu was recognized by the Party Secretariat as a strong and solid district party organization.

Aside from the results that have been achieved, Long Phu is still limited and weak in many respects compared to the requirements involved in building the

district. The economic potentials of Long Phu are very large and although an effort has been made to develop them, the achievements that have been recorded have not been commensurate with the wealth that lies in the districts arable land, rivers, ocean waters and abundant skilled labor. Although there are objective reasons for this, such as meager sources of supplies and raw materials, few material-technical bases, confusion in the division of management responsibilities and levels and unstable prices, in its guidance, the district party committee has yet to concern itself with the process of the comprehensive, well coordinated development of the various sectors by building an agro-fishing-forestry-industrial structure for the district. Since liberation day, the guidance provided by the district party committee has focused on agricultural production, but primarily only on the production of rice. Within agricultural production, there is still a lack of balance between rice production and subsidiary food crop production, between crop production and livestock production and between production and processing (milling). Within the machinery of the economy, the private economic segment is still large, especially within industry and commerce; the transformation of industry and commerce has not been carried out well; the transformation of agriculture has not been uniform; the management skills of production collectives are still weak; the trade sectors and the household economy within collectives have not developed; there is still much idle labor and the income of collective farmers is derived solely from rice production. Within the economic management system of the district, the economic-technical apparatus is still very underdeveloped and only meager amounts of capital are being accumulated within the district for the purpose of building material-technical bases for the district. Despite the strengthening of the corps of cadres, especially on the basis level, and the rapid training of young cadres filled with zeal, the political qualifications, educational level and economic and social management skills of cadres are underdeveloped compared to requirements and tasks. In summary, Long Phu has not developed the strength of the district in the best possible manner.

Under the light of the resolutions of the 5th National Congress and the resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum and displaying the revolutionary-offensive spirit, all of the cadres and party members of Long Phu are making every effort to develop upon their strengths and good experiences and correct their weaknesses and shortcomings, determined to build Long Phu District into a solid fortress of socialism and record new, large achievements.

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"SEVERAL MATTERS CONCERNING THE PARTY WHEN IN POLITICAL POWER"---A BOOK OF PROFOUND THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL VALUE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 83 pp 47-53

[Book Review by Tien Hai]

[Text] Ours is a party that is leading a state government. The historic responsibility of a party in power never decreases, rather, it increases several fold compared to the responsibilities that the party had before achieving political power because the tasks of the party are very much larger and complex. Today, the leadership of the party is very broad in scope: it penetrates all areas of activity of social life and penetrates the very new, complex and difficult fields of socialist construction.

The leadership provided by the party is always the first factor in determining each victory of the revolution; therefore, the key to completing the present tasks of the revolution is making every effort to strengthen the leadership provided by the party. This important issue is discussed by Le Duan, general secretary of our party, in his book "Several Matters Concerning the Party When In Political Power."(\*)

Le Duan's book "Several Matters Concerning the Party When In Political Power" is a book that is of profound theoretical and practical value and is very rich in content. Within the scope of this article, we can only present some of the basic arguments set forth within this work.

Le Duan begins by stating: "To strengthen the leadership that it is providing in the present stage, the party must continue to delve deeply into researching ways to develop, perfect and concretize its political line"(p 35).\*\*

As persons who believe in dialectical materialism, we can never allow the development of our awareness to stop. Social realities and real life are constantly changing and developing, especially at a time when our society is in the initial stage of the period of transition. Therefore, "we must regularly delve deeply into life in order to analyze actual socio-economic processes, the experiences of the masses and our successes and failures, summarize our experiences and develop necessary general theories in order to

continuously supplement, develop and concretize the lines and policies of the party"(p 36).

One matter of special importance to which attention must be given with regard to supplementing, developing and concretizing the lines and policies of the party is the matter of how to learn the objective laws that govern the development of society. While emphasizing the role played by the subjective factors of man, of the vanguard party and the masses, Lenin always reminded the communist parties that they absolutely must not establish lines and policies on the basis of their subjective desires, must not use sentiment as the basis of revolutionary strategy and tactics, rather, that they must attach special importance to objective laws.

In his work, Le Duan also very deeply analyzes the special importance of learning objective laws. He states: the objective laws of the development of society must always be the basis of the political line of the party"(p 36). He also points out: "In the national democratic revolution, in the war, our party adopted the correct line because it had a firm grasp of the laws of revolution and the laws of the people's war. In the socialist revolution and socialist construction, it is even more important that we not be capricious, that we not show disregard for laws... The dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary zeal of the people are extremely important moving forces, forces without which it is impossible to even talk about building socialism. However, it is sometimes very 'obstinate and stubborn,' that is, sometimes a very serious mistake to think that the mere existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat and enthusiasm are enough to build socialism and that the objective laws, that economic conditions need not be taken into consideration"(p 36)

Besides confirming the growth that our party has made with regard to learning the laws of the national democratic revolution and the laws of the people's war, Le Duan also points out a present weakness of ours, namely, the fact that "we have only begun to learn the laws of the socialist revolution and socialist construction"(p 37). In our advance from a country in which small-scale production predominates directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development we face a host of brand new problems. Firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people, simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions and so forth, these are the fundamental guidelines of the socialist revolution in our country. However, how the laws of the scientific-technological revolution, of socialist industrialization, of the production relations revolution, of the ideological and cultural revolution and numerous other economic relations have an impact under the conditions of our country are very difficult and complex problems demanding much more thought on the part of our party. In the Political Report at the 5th National Congress of Delegates of the Party delivered by General Secretary Le Duan, our party harshly reviewed the situation: "During the 5 years from 1976 to 1980, there have been shortcomings and mistakes with regard to keeping abreast of and understanding the actual situation and concretizing and implementing the line of the party."(1) And, these shortcomings and mistakes, "in the final analysis, have been due to the failure to truly reflect in the line of the party a firm grasp of the laws of the process of advancing from small-scale

production to large-scale socialist production, the failure to keep fully abreast of reality and the lack of economic knowledge."(2)

On the basis of the mistakes and shortcomings pointed out above and realizing their causes, we become even more aware of the profound significance of the above mentioned argument by Le Duan. And, also on this basis, one issue becomes very clear, namely, "the need to make an extraordinary effort, to undergo extraordinary growth in this area (that is, with regard to learning the laws of the socialist revolution--T.H.) in order for our party to develop the strength needed to fulfill its task as the leader of society"(p 37).

In order to learn the laws of the development of society, Le Duan points out: "It is necessary to more fully and deeply research the principles of scientific socialism, firmly grasp the realities of our country and, at the same time, study the experiences of the fraternal countries; in particular, importance must be attached to reviewing the experiences gained during the years of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in order to raise the party's level of theory, shed light on practical matters and, on this basis, develop and further improve the lines and policies of the party so that they are increasingly scientific in nature and, as a result, have an increasing effect upon life"(p 38).

Adopting correct lines and policies is of decisive importance but is not enough. We must also perform widespread organizational work in order to mobilize and make full use of each social force and every material as well as spiritual capability in the performance of specific tasks. Therefore, performing organizational work and improving the organizational skill of the party and the state apparatus are matters that Le Duan considers to be of pressing, key importance to a party in political power.

"When talking about organizational work, we should not consider it to only involve cadre work or party building. These kinds of work are important jobs of the organization; however, it is neither complete nor correct to understand organizational work in these terms. During the period of socialist construction, organizational work encompasses numerous matters involving arranging the structure of the national economy, building the state management apparatus, building the economic and cultural management apparatus, establishing the regulations and internal rules of each planning unit and defining the duties and authority of each level and each sector with a view toward insuring the performance of the political and economic tasks of each period. Organizational work is related to the level of development of the economy, of society, related to the system of law... Consequently, we can no longer work in the administrative style nor can we do whatever we deem fit"(p 16).

Thus, organizational work is of special importance and is very broad in content. Lenin once pointed out: "In the struggle to seize political power, the proletariat has no weapon other than organization."(3) And, once the dictatorship of the proletariat had been established and the task of building the new society became the task of foremost importance, Lenin stressed: "We must understand that in order to provide good management, it is not enough for us to only know how to persuade others, how to win victory in the civil war;

it is also necessary to know how to perform practical organizational work. This is the most difficult task because the problem we face is that we must organize, in a brand new way, the deepest bases, the economic bases of the lives of tens of millions of persons."(4)

Our country is in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. According to Le Duan, it is even more necessary during this period to perform good organizational work because "due to its decentralized, fragmented, liberal, haphazard and ungoverned nature, small-scale production has left us with nothing by way of a good organization, only left us with bad customs and work habits that are totally contrary to the organizational requirements of a system of large-scale socialist production. For this reason, as we advance from small-scale production, we not only face two courses of economic development, capitalist or socialist, but also two methods of organization: handicraft or large-scale industrial. A mistake in our line might change the direction of development of the revolution to the point where the dictatorship of the proletariat is destroyed. However, if we make a mistake in the organization of management, if we incorporate the concepts and methods of the small-scale producer with which we have been familiar for generations to the activities involved in organizing management, we cannot achieve socialism"(p 40).

Such is the special importance of organizational work. However, it is precisely the area in which we are lacking and weak at this time. Le Duan says: "It must be clearly recognized that our greatest weakness, our greatest difficulty in managing the economy and managing the state lies in the field of organization, in the organizational task"(p 21). He also points out that, at present, "what we lack very much is skill in organizing economic construction and development, cultural development and the support of the lives of the people"(p 40-41). Our socialist revolution is facing us with large and pressing tasks. The entire party must rapidly move forward and successfully overcome the present contradiction in our growth between the need to urgently accelerate socialist construction with its increasingly large volume of increasingly complex work and the underdeveloped organizational skill of the party and the underdeveloped management skill of our state. For this reason, Le Duan raises the following requirement: "There must be a revolutionary change in our concept of the role played by organization, must be a bold improvement in the organizational work of the party, in the mode of management of the state, of all agencies, sectors and levels"( p 43).

"The decisive prerequisite to insuring the victory of the revolution once a correct line and correct policies have been adopted is to organize the implementation of the line, the key to which is having a corps of cadres that is strong and solid in every respect"(p 52). This important argument is repeated many times by Le Duan in his work.

In the new stage of the revolution, the party must have a corps of high qualities cadres that represents the political line of the party and is large enough to not only meet immediate needs, but long-range needs as well. This corps must consist of all types of cadres in all sectors and fields of endeavor and must meet the widespread requirements that exist in every field of the revolution.

Le Duan points out: "The quality of a cadre is expressed in the results achieved through the completion of the tasks assigned by the party during each period of the revolution. How well revolutionary tasks are completed and how correctly and thoroughly the lines and policies of the party are implemented, these are the measurements of the qualities and the abilities of each cadre"(p 53).

In order to develop a corps of high quality cadres, Le Duan demands that each cadre, regardless of the level on which he works and regardless of his position, try to forge himself; "cadres must constantly strengthen their proletarian stand and cultivate revolutionary ethics"(p 61); "they must make every effort to learn, considering learning to be a matter of party spirit, a matter of state discipline. They must learn and forge themselves in the activities of their party chapter, in practical work and in schools and training classes in order to improve their ability to perform practical organizational work, improve their command of theory and politics and deepen their knowledge of economic management, science and technology"(p 185). On the other hand, the party and the state "must have correct concepts concerning cadres and cadre work. Cadres must be evaluated primarily on the basis of their present qualities and practical skills and on the basis of the requirements of their task. Cadres must be assigned to the right places and promoted at the right time; cadres must be organized within a well coordinated system in which they supplement and support one another. Cadres (both elected cadres as well as appointed cadres) must be periodically re-evaluated; the promotion or demotion of cadres and the retention of cadres who perform their job properly as well as the replacement of cadres who do not perform their job well must be considered normal procedure. We must combat narrowmindedness, prejudice and localism in order to promptly discover and boldly promote cadres who possess good qualities and skills and support, assist and create the conditions for them to perform their work. We must be determined to remove from their jobs corrupt and degenerate cadres; replace those cadres who do not comply with the lines and viewpoints of the party concerning domestic policy as well as foreign policy; and reassign cadres who are incompetent and cannot perform their task"(p 184).

Le Duan also demands that we correctly coordinate elderly cadres and young cadres because "elderly cadres understand life and are experienced; young cadres possess the energy to move forward and are responsive to the new; when they collaborate closely, these two types of cadres create a new quality"(p 15).

Another urgent matter suggested by the general secretary is that the system of party and state organizations must give attention to "quickly putting cadre work under planning and plans in order to meet immediate requirements and prepare for long-range tasks"(p 184).

Finally, every effort must be made to provide elementary and advanced cadre training so that cadres are fully capable of excellently completing the tasks assigned to them. This matter "must become the matter of foremost concern of the various party committee echelons"(p 185).

Another important task of the party when it is in political power is to create a system of the most correct relations possible among the party, the state and the masses throughout the nation as well as within each locality, each sector and each basic unit, from the upper level to the lower level and vice versa.

Le Duan analyzes the matter in the following manner: "A correct system of these relations (the relations among the party, the state and the masses--T.H.) is a system that insures, in the firmest manner possible, the party's comprehensive and absolute leadership of social life and the development of society, insures that the state possesses maximum capabilities and achieves maximum effectiveness in its role of managing the economy and the culture and absolutely guarantees the true right of collective ownership and tap the historic creativity of the laboring people in the manner that yields the best results"(p 83).

Concerning the relations among the party, the state and the masses, Le Duan writes: "The party cannot lead society, cannot lead the people in building socialism without the state, without working through the state. The laboring people cannot become the masters of society and successfully carry out their undertaking without the leadership provided by the party... The leadership provided by the party and the right of ownership of the people are embodied in the state and the activities of the state and are implemented and can only be implemented through the state. The state would not be a proletarian state if it were not the manifestation of the power of the laboring people, if its activities were not based on the Marxist-Leninist line of the political party of the working class"(p 83).

Although they comprise a mechanism, comprise an entity, the relations among the party, the state and the masses are still relations that are "distinct in content, function and task"(p 190). These distinctions can be summarized in several words: the party leads, the state manages and the people exercise ownership. The leadership provided by the party is an objective necessity. It is not leadership that is imposed in a subjective way, rather, it has its origins in historic necessity. Le Duan points out: "The fact that the party leads the people does not mean that the party becomes the master of the state in place of the people. The fact that the party leads the state does not mean that the party replaces the state in order to govern"(p 84). He asks that all organizations of the party and all agencies of the state as well as every cadre and party member clearly understand this fact and not confuse the function of the party with the function of the state. He also points out: "When the party organization takes over the work of state agencies, it reduces the effectiveness of the state apparatus and, in actuality, reduces the leadership role of the party and violates the right of ownership of the people"(pp 100-101).

Another very important argument that Le Duan mentions in his work is that of continuing to build and strengthen the close relationship between the party and the people. He writes: "To a communist party that is in political power, to communists who are managing the state, one of the greatest and most frightening dangers is to sever the relationship with the people"(p 88).

The revolution is the undertaking of the masses. The work of agitating and organizing the masses so that they carry out the revolution is of strategic significance in every period of time. In the stage of the socialist revolution and now, as our country's revolution carries out the two strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland, the agitation of the masses assumes even more special importance. Therefore, it is even more necessary for our party to further tighten the ties between the party and the people.

Le Duan writes: "Our people are very good people who possess revolutionary enthusiasm, who wholeheartedly love the party and have confidence in the party. With the support of the masses, any job, regardless of how difficult it might be, can be completed and completed well provided that cadres and party members have a close relationship with the masses, mix with the masses and make every effort to propagandize, agitate and persuade them"(p 25). However, it is regrettable that, at present, "incorrect actions have been taken at some places, actions that have harmed the relationship between the party and the masses, between the state and the people, between the party and the government and vice versa"(p 46). With this in mind, he points out: "It must be deeply understood that the greatest dangers, the dangers that must be avoided when the party is in political power are not only mistakes in the party's line, but also bureaucracy, bossism, authoritarianism and so forth, which cause the party to become remote from the masses and weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat. The strength of the party lies in close relations with the masses"(p 46).

In order to strengthen the ties between the party and the masses, Le Duan points out that we must first "make every effort to teach all party members so that they deeply understand that serving the party and serving the people are one and the same thing, that the only, the constant goal of the party is none other than serving the people"(p 24).

Together with educating party members, it is necessary to successfully build the contingent of core cadres of the masses in order to firmly maintain the relations between the party and the masses through this contingent. Le Duan write: "Core cadres must be activists among the masses who help cadres and party members maintain close ties with the masses... We must attach importance to establishing the contingent of core cadres of the masses, considering it to be a form of organization designed to firmly maintain the ties between the party and the masses and eliminate every manifestation of bossism and bureaucracy"(p 26).

Regulations must be adopted which guarantee that the masses can contribute their opinions and participate in party building and supervise cadres and party members because "allowing the masses to participate in party building, to criticize and supervise the work of the party, of cadres and of party members is not only consistent with the legitimate aspirations of the masses, but is also a way to bring the party and the masses closer together, a way to prevent cadres and party members from falling by the wayside and becoming corrupt"(p 27).

In addition, it is necessary to guarantee and continuously uphold the right of collective ownership of the laboring people because this is not only an important prerequisite to strengthening and consolidating the government, but is, at the same time, "the most important measure in strengthening the ties between the party and the masses when the party is in political power"(p 45).

This more than 200 page book by Le Duan, which contains many very important arguments concerning the party when in political power, will surely help cadres, party members, the organizations of the party, the organizations of the state and mass organizations heighten their awareness and, on this basis, improve the quality of their work.

#### FOOTNOTES

\* A book by Le Duan published by Su That Publishing House in 1981.

\*\* The passages contained within quotation marks followed by page numbers are excerpts from Le Duan's work: "Several Matters Concerning the Party When in Political Power."

1. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, p 30.
2. Ibid.
3. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, Book I, Part I, p 624.
4. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book II, Part II, p 402.

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## SUCCESSFULLY TEACHING ABOUT THE ENVIRONMENT OUTSIDE THE SCHOOL

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 83 pp 54-57

[Article by Professor Dao Van Tien]

[Text] During the past few decades, the environment has become an issue related to many sectors and an international issue. Maintaining the environment is not the exclusive work of an agency or state, but demands the concern of all society, of the entire world. Teaching about the environment is necessary in order to raise the spirit of responsibility of the individual and the organization with regard to protecting and improving the environment.

Many international conferences dealing exclusively with teaching about the environment, in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1972, in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in 1975 and in Tbilisi, the Soviet Union, in 1977, have defined the objectives, the subject matter and the forms of education to be employed when teaching about the environment. The subject matter and forms of education involved in teaching about the environment differ depending upon each country's situation; however, the spirit behind this effort is the same everywhere: 1) education in the environment is not merely a subject that supplements the current teaching program, rather, it is a body of knowledge embracing many disciplines that has a place in every program of instruction regardless of the age group of the students' level of education; 2) education in the environment requires the coordinated efforts of the family, the school and society so that everyone grows up being familiar with environmental issues.

In our country, efforts have been made under the educational reform program started by the state in 1981 to express this spirit. On every level of study and in every school year, there are lessons on protecting wild life, plant life, the soil, the environment, the air and so forth. However, there is one important field that this program has yet to touch upon, namely, providing an education in the environment outside the school. This involves teaching about the environment to classes of adults, persons who are in contact with the environment every hour of every day in their work and other activities.

## The Nature of Education in the Environment Outside the School

Above everything else, teaching about the environment is a regular, continuous effort.

The situation is the same in every country: if man is to be constantly educated--which is essential in view of the rate of development of the present scientific-technological revolution--the primary responsibility for this lies with informal education, that is, with education outside the school. This statement is even more correct when applied to education in the environment. Education in the environment is something that man needs throughout his life, needs before he attends school, while he is attending school and after graduating from school. From the moment he is born, man needs natural resources to survive on earth. As society advances, as industry develops and as the environment is increasingly affected, new environmental issues arise. A few decades ago, the main environmental issue in the western world was air pollution caused by industrial wastes and chemicals. Today, it is radioactive wastes and nuclear weapons. In our country, one of the main environmental issues in past years was the pollution of our water and soil by the wastes of daily life; today, the population problem is one of the main issues.

The environmental awareness of each person also must constantly be raised to keep abreast of the times. Education in the environment is always needed to cultivate this awareness.

Education in the environment is multi-faceted.

The environment itself is diverse. It consists of many factors: water, air, soil, animal life, plant life, man and every product man has created (buildings, enterprises, fields, streets, vehicles and so forth). Therefore, the environment is everywhere and man, regardless of where he is, is always in contact with the environment. An old man on his way into the forest to cut firewood who stops to have a cigarette, throws the butt in dry grass and starts a forest fire destroys plant resources. A soldier who explodes a mine in a river and kills fingerlings and pregnant fish destroys animal resources. Mothers in the cities who allow their children to urinate in the curb pollute the environment. Youths who play music so loud that it can be heard along an entire street pollute the air with noise. Children who bend newly planted trees along streets and teenagers who sit in oxcarts and, without regret, strike their buffalo on the buttocks with a shovel as they strain to climb a hill are not protecting beneficial plant and animal life.

On the other hand, education in the environment both in and outside the school demands the coordination of many subjects of study and every form of instruction; however, all of these subjects and forms of instruction have a common objective, finding solutions to environmental problems. Education in the environment can be made part of the various types of programs for adults as well as the programs designed to wipe out illiteracy, provide supplementary education, provide family planning, disseminate news of current events, disseminate policy, eradicate bad customs and superstitions and so forth.

Lastly, teaching about the environment outside the school is activist in nature.

This is a type of "citizen education," a process of "forging skills." The student need not only possess knowledge of the environment, but must also be able to take specific steps to rectify the incorrect attitudes that he holds as well as every other member of society holds concerning the environment and, on this basis, acquire an interest in actively participating in protecting and improving the environment in which he, himself, and those around him live and work.

For example, the growth of the population has made it necessary to build new economic zones and this has led to the destruction of forest resources. As the population grows, the forests recede. In the past, our forefathers cleared all the forests in the lowlands and some in the midlands. At present, we are destroying the remaining forests in the midlands and attacking the forests in the mountains. The primary purpose is to support our population which has doubled in 35 years. Knowing that the population problem is an environmental problem, each of us must consciously and immediately begin practicing planned parenthood.

For a long time to come, our country's supply of energy will continue to be based on coal and water. Coal resources are at the point of exhaustion and coal resources are at the point where they cannot be renewed in many mountain localities. The destruction of headwater forests has caused many streams and rivers to dry up, thereby adversely affecting the output of several hydroelectric power plants. Clearly, the policy of practicing frugality in the use of electricity and water is not only an economic issue, it is also a matter of conserving natural resources, a matter of conserving energy, both of which are contemporary environmental issues. The specific actions that are taken to conserve electricity and water depend upon the environmental consciousness of each person.

#### Measures for Providing Education in the Environment Outside the School

In the experience of many countries, the ways in which education in the environment can be organized outside the school are very flexible: this education can be provided by the state or the mass organizations or through the coordinated efforts of the two.

1. The agencies of the government can take the initiative in organizing education in the environment outside the school. The entire program of education in the environment outside the school can be managed by the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Forestry or the Ministry of Environmental Protection (if any). Youths who are still of school age can receive an education in the environment through activities conducted by school clubs either during or outside school hours. The colleges can organize lectures and presentations for adults.

2. Education in the environment can be provided outside the school in a manner that is partly or wholly independent of government agencies. Persons who are concerned with the environment can establish associations, such as an

association of farmers or a natural preservation association, or clubs, such as clubs to preserve historic ruins. Association and club members can hold exhibits, lectures, public meetings and other activities designed to preserve the environment, such as covering barren hills with vegetation, maintaining public sanitation, and so forth.

3. It is also possible to coordinate government agencies and mass organizations in providing education in the environment outside the school. For example, in order to find a solution to or prevent an environmental problem within a locality, there should be coordination between the schools and the government agencies within the locality in the form of movements to plant trees, clean up villages, maintain the purity of water and air, etc.

All three types of organization mentioned above can yield results. The first type can be implemented in the large cities. The second type can be implemented in the provinces and the third can be implemented on the district and village levels. Although the various sectors play the dominant role in the cities in providing an education in the environment outside the school, the participation of the mass organizations is also very necessary. The Trade Union, the Youth Union, the Women's Union and the other mass organizations can be mobilized to participate in activities related to the environment by, for example, organizing tours to areas of environmental interest, organizing mobile exhibits and conducting contests and presentations concerning environmental matters. The Youth Union can also organize youth and teenager clubs that engage in specific activities designed to protect the environment: planting trees, protecting crops, filling in potholes and maintaining sanitation within hamlets and along streets.

The activities for youths and teenagers that are designed to provide an education in the environment outside the school must be guided by teachers who work in the locality and managed by the Teachers Trade Union.

#### The Forms of Propaganda for Teaching About the Environment Outside the School

In addition to lectures and exhibits concerning the environment, which are limited in scope and limited in terms of their propaganda value, two other forms are being widely applied in other countries with good results:

1. Making increased use of the mass media, such as the press, radio, television, films and so forth. Development in this area has reached the point where there are special columns and programs on protecting nature and protecting the environment.

The press can dedicate special columns to environmental issues. Special bulletins can be published concerning environmental issues. Posters can be posted at public places and leaflets can be distributed where large meetings are being held to propagandize this matter.

We have begun to make use of the various forms mentioned above. On Sunday evenings, the Central Television Station broadcasts wild life programs, the subjects of which encompass rare species of animals; the Vietnam Marine Registration and Inspection Force has been making widespread use of leaflets,

handouts and posters to remind people to prevent pollution of the sea by oil; NHAN DAN Newspaper, in its Readers' Letters column, frequently contains articles criticizing the illegal destruction of the forests. In May, 1982, on the occasion of International Environment Day, all newspapers carried articles on the environment and dedicated whole pages to environmental issues. The Audio-Visual Corporation and the Scientific Films Corporation have also released a few films on protecting nature and the environment.

All of the efforts described above are welcomed very much. However, they are only initial steps. It is hoped that the mass media will concern themselves more with teaching about the environment in order to constantly mold among the masses an awareness of environmental protection. The press and radio and television stations should have permanent columns and programs dealing with the environment. Besides items on conserving electricity, nightly television should also present a short "environmental protection" program.

2. Organizing tours to areas of environmental interest: excursions to zoos, arboretums, parks and restricted forest areas help to build awareness with regard to protecting animal resources, plant resources and so forth. Visits to historic ruins and places of scenic beauty cultivate a spirit of responsibility toward the cultural heritage of our forefathers and the natural beauty of the fatherland. Visits to enterprises that are lacking in labor safety, to densely populated areas that lack daily conveniences, to prefabricated housing projects that still lack trees and so forth will show the harm that results from not concerning ourselves with protecting and improving the work environment and the environment in which we live.

On the basis of such tours and visits, each of us will become fully conscious of the environment and will find it easy to take positive steps to protect and improve the environment whenever we can.

Protecting and improving the environment are pressing matters. We have begun to concern ourselves with providing an education in the environment within schools but have yet to give attention to teaching about the environment outside schools.

Teaching about the environment outside the school is something that can be achieved without very much difficulty. We already have a number of mass organizations, the Youth Union, the Trade Union and the Women's Union, and a number of movements have been launched: the afforestation movement, the family planning movement, the cultured lifestyle movement and so forth. We also have all the necessary mass media: the press, radio stations, television stations and so forth.

Teaching about the environment outside the school does not require significant expenditures either. It will only involve a slight increase in the functions of some state agencies (primarily the Ministry of Education) with regard to supplying subject matter and materials for teaching about the environment and a slight expansion of the activities of the existing mass organizations. It will also only involve organizing and maintaining coordination between the sectors and the mass organizations in the performance of their daily work.

## THE MODERN AGRICULTURE OF THE SOVIET UNION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 83 pp 58-64

[Article by Nguyen Ngoc Tuan]

[Text] Prior to the October Revolution, Russia was a backward and poor country; the amount of technical equipment per worker was four times less than in Germany, five times less than in Great Britain and 10 times less than in the United States. World War II cost Russia more than 700 billion rubles and the lives of 20 million persons, the majority of whom were able-bodied youths who had already been trained in an occupation. However, in only 60 years of existence and development, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has advanced to lead the world in steel production, tractor production and so forth and even in the production of some consumer goods. In agriculture, despite the fact that, for a rather long period of time, the Soviet Union has had to concentrate its largest forces on the development of heavy industry, despite the fact that the arable land of the Soviet Union is not as good as that of many other countries, such as the United States, and despite many recent years of unfavorable weather, production has still increased.

### The Production of Some Primary Agricultural Products (yearly average)

	1961-1965	1976-1980	Percent Increase
Total agricultural output value (billions of rubles)	82.8	123.7	150
Cereal grains (millions of tons)	130.3	205.0	157
Meat (live weight, millions of tons)	9.3	14.8	159
Milk (millions of tons)	64.7	92.7	143
Eggs (billions)	28.7	63.1	220

The rate of development exceeded the rate of growth of the European Common Market countries (only 31 percent) and the United States (29 percent) during the same period of time. As a result of this rate, the total agricultural

output value of the Soviet Union has developed from being five times less than the United States to nearly equal that of the United States and the per capita consumption of a number of primary agricultural products has markedly increased: cereal grains: 785 kilograms; meat: 58 kilograms; milk: 314 kilograms; sugar: 44.4 kilograms, etc. In addition to the success of agricultural cooperativization, these tremendous achievements have also been due to the following important factors:

### Gaining an Increasingly Deep Understanding of the Nature and Role of Agriculture

Many years ago, many persons in the world maintained that industry was the key to agriculture; the most difficult and complex aspect of agriculture was considered to be industrial development and agriculture itself was considered a simple, easily operated sector that produced little or no profit; its role would decline due to the replacement of some agricultural products by industrial goods or the percentage that it constituted of national income would gradually decline; and, countries that relied upon agriculture were considered to be backward countries. However, years ago, on the basis of research results and actual experience, Soviet scientists developed new, unified concepts concerning the nature and role of agriculture, concepts that led to new and more effective ways of guiding agricultural development.

1. Agriculture is not purely an economic system, rather, it is a biological-technical system. It is one of the most complex and difficult sectors of the national economy because:

--The foundations of agricultural development are biological potentials and the discovery and application of biological laws, laws which have an impact in a spontaneous manner and cannot be easily learned or immediately applied in an effective manner by man;

--The process of labor within agriculture is characterized by the fact that it does not coincide with the process of manufacturing products; therefore, it is very difficult to evaluate the quality of labor within agriculture. As a result, how to encourage laborers to concern themselves with the results of their labor, especially the quality of their work, is a very complex matter, especially within collective agricultural production.

--The modern world is experiencing two crises, the energy-raw materials crisis and the grain crisis; to date, the world has been unable to resolve the grain crisis. To the contrary, given the present rate of growth of the world population, the grain crisis will become worse, not better. According to projections by FAO (The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations), the total grain exports of the world will only amount to 185 million tons in 1985 but the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America lack as many as 200 million tons and grain is a daily essential for which there is no substitute.

2. Agriculture very greatly influences the rate of economic development of a country. Even in the Soviet Union, although it is a developed industrial

country, 65 to 70 percent of the annual rate of growth of national income is still dependent upon the results of agricultural development.

3. If efficient management is provided, investments in agriculture yield higher returns than do investments in any other sector. According to precise calculations made by Soviet economists, the profit rate of Soviet agriculture in 1975 was 27.2 percent while the average profit rate of the entire national economy was only 12.9 percent.

4. Regardless of how much importance is attached to industry and the other sectors, if agriculture is still backward, this backwardness will cause major harm to the entire national economy and will have to be corrected by countries sooner or later, otherwise the normal development of the economy cannot be maintained. The cost of allowing agriculture to continue to be backward is greater than the cost of correcting this backwardness, etc.

With this new, profound and comprehensive method of viewing agriculture, the Soviet Union has, over a period of many years, made well based revisions and amendments to its agricultural policy, especially the policy of making profitable investments in agriculture; whereas, prior to 1960, state investments in agriculture only amounted to 8-11 percent of the total capital invested in the national economy, investments in agriculture accounted for approximately 20 percent during the period from 1961 to 1965, 23 percent between 1966 and 1970 and 26 percent between 1971 and 1975. Of the 420 billion rubles that have been invested in agriculture in all of the years of the Soviet government, 212 billion rubles, that is, more than one-half, were invested during the years from 1966 to 1975. In July, 1978, the Plenum of the CPSU set the rate of investments in agriculture as no less than 27 percent. This percentage is nearly equal to the percentage of national income derived from agriculture (more than 30 percent) and is considered reasonable by many Soviet economists because it reflects the principle of the equal exchange of value, which is a principle that is used as a guideline in determining the policy on the distribution of investment capital to the various sectors.

This well based rate at which direct investments are made together with the increasingly large indirect investment of capital in the industrial sectors supporting agriculture have rapidly strengthened the material-technical bases in the countryside and made decisive contributions to the above mentioned successes of agriculture.

#### Establishing an Increasingly Efficient Production Structure and Establishing Correct Intensive Cultivation Guidelines

Man not only requires vegetable protein, but also requires more animal protein; and, as the need for animal protein is satisfied, the need for vegetable protein declines. Therefore, for many years, the Soviet state has been strengthening and improving the structure of agricultural production along the lines of maintaining an efficient balance between the production of grain and other crops that provide raw materials for livestock production in order to convert these crops into animal protein. In 1980, in addition to allocating more than 58 percent of the land under cultivation to the production of cereal grains, primarily wheat, the majority of the remainder of



the Soviet Union's arable land was devoted to the production of livestock feed crops: the production of livestock feed crops increased from 18 million hectares in 1940 to 67 million hectares in 1980, or 31 percent of the total amount of land under cultivation. However, the Soviet Union still maintains that it has yet to achieve the optimum allocation of crops: in the production of cereal grains, wheat accounts for 62 percent of the crops raised while corn and soybeans, two crops that provide many calories and much nitrogen for the creation of animal protein, only account for 7 and 3 percent respectively; in the United States, these percentages are 12 percent, 56 percent and 29 percent.

Together with improving the structure of production, intensive cultivation within agriculture has been given special attention, especially since 1960, when the possibilities of opening new land to cultivation began to gradually decline. The several main guidelines of intensive cultivation are:

Increasing the investment of supplies, machinery and labor per unit of area, especially chemical fertilizers, because chemical fertilizers have helped the Soviet Union raise its yields by more than 30 percent.

Efficiently zoning specialized farming areas: in the Soviet Union, the development of agriculture by specialized areas is considered a matter of importance. The Soviet Union has conducted very large projects involving the basic investigation of biological resources, the projection of yields and so forth and has incorporated the advanced experiences of other countries in the zoning of agricultural areas (Hungary, the United States and so forth) in order to zone its own economic areas. On this basis, it has established agricultural development plans with increasingly precise norms. Today, the Soviet Union has high yield, specialized farming areas that produce a large output of cereal grains, such as the Ukraine, which has a yield of 26.2 quintals per hectare (the average yield of the entire country is only 16 quintals per hectare) and produces a total of 43.2 million tons, nearly one-fifth the total cereal grain output of the entire Soviet Union; the agricultural belts producing sugar beets and grapes in Kirgizia, etc. Within each republic, the zoning of specialized farming areas has been and is being actively promoted.

Promoting the selection of crop varieties: in the Soviet Union, the development of the science of genetics within agriculture is a special concern of the party and hybridization is considered a national policy and the measure of foremost importance in raising crop yields. The Soviet Union has established a very well developed system of crop selection research agencies on the central level as well as in the localities, which operates alongside a dense network that disseminates information on the techniques involved in selecting varieties and producing seed. The activities of these research facilities are rather closely tied to production and are always oriented toward resolving important and practical problems raised by the development of agriculture. As a result, the Soviet Union has developed and put into production many new, high yield varieties, such as varieties of wheat that yield 6 to 6.5 tons per hectare and so forth. This work in the field of selection has played an important role in raising the yield and the output of wheat.

## Establishing an Effective Mechanism To Provide Incentive to the Laborer

The establishment of an efficient production structure in conjunction with creating an effective mechanism to provide incentive to the laborer is always a mandatory task in the economic development strategy of the Soviet Union. Lenin often said: without showing concern for the interests of the individual, no progress can be made; and, he pointed out that only by means of the enthusiasm created by concern for material interests and only by means of cost accounting can we build a sturdy bridge to socialism.

The material interests of the laborer within agriculture are satisfied through a constantly improved mechanism that provides incentive in the following three main ways:

The incentive provided by the plan: in the past, the state assigned to the collective farms many plan norms established on the upper level governing the amount of area under cultivation, the crops to be raised, product output, etc. However, facts showed that this practice was not suited to the special characteristics of collective ownership and failed to encourage the laborer to work in accordance with the plan; therefore, in 1965, the Soviet Union incorporated within its plans new factors that provide incentive. For example:

--The state now only assigns two norms to farms: one on the purchasing of agricultural products and one on the supplying of materials and technology. The farms, themselves, plan and determine the structure of their production. The yearly norms of purchasing plans are stabilized for a period of 5 years. If they sell more agricultural products to the state than required under their plan, collective farms and state farms are paid 1.5 times more for the additional products they sell, the leadership cadres and specialized cadres of agricultural production installations receive a bonus equivalent to 6 months' salary and the provinces are allowed to retain the major portion (60 percent) of sales to the local market over and above planned quotas. Once they have fulfilled their obligation to sell products to the state, collective farms and state farms may use the remaining agricultural products as they see fit, which includes selling them on the free market.

The incentive provided by prices: prices, which have a very broad impact in many fields and upon many different elements of society, can stimulate or restrict production. For this reason, in the Soviet Union, except when prevented by the situation, the new state had to set low prices for agricultural products so that a significant portion of accumulated capital could be allocated to heavy industry; in the early 1950's, when this price policy was seen to be limiting the development of production, the party and state boldly raised prices, as typified by the strong increase in prices in late 1953 (agricultural product purchasing prices were raised 10-fold). Since then, agricultural prices have continued to be raised. This is evident in the increasingly large amount of money paid by the state to farmers in order to purchase agricultural products: 5 billion rubles in 1953, 31 billion rubles in 1965, 66.4 billion rubles in 1974 and so forth. Thus, the total amount of money spent to purchase agricultural products increased by more than 12 times between 1953 and 1974.

Rising purchasing prices have not only helped production installations to cover their production costs, but also helped them to earn a certain amount of profit. In addition, if production installations sell more agricultural products to the state than represented by their average sales for the past 5 years, they will be paid an incentive price 50 percent higher than the normal purchasing price.

The above mentioned price policy has encouraged farmers to continuously increase their output and sell more agricultural products to the state. In particular, the two price policy has shown itself to be superior with regard to stimulating production when agriculture is advancing slowly, the level of development of agricultural production is not high and farmers are not very concerned with the results of production.

The incentive provided through the remuneration of labor: the forms of remuneration in the Soviet Union are truly economic in nature: the costs involved in replenishing the energies of the laborer are paid and incentive is provided for increased productivity.

Compensating for the costs involved in replenishing the energies of the laborer within agriculture is the decisive function of the wage paid to farmers through the labor fund. Within the Soviet Union, the size of this fund was temporarily limited during one stage of development so that investment capital could be devoted to heavy industry. However, after 1953, especially from 1965 onward, the wage paid at farms increased significantly: from 1.5 kopecks to 2.7 rubles in 1965, 5.1 rubles in 1977 and 5.24 rubles in 1978. In particular, in 1966, the Soviet Union replaced the differential wage policy with a guaranteed wage policy (that is, a policy which establishes the labor fund before the other funds), under which the wages of farmers are on a par with the wages of manual workers. At present, the state is very closely inspecting the payment of wages to farmers to insure that they receive the minimum wage guaranteed to them. Farms that are unable to pay the guaranteed wage are granted low interest loans from the bank so that the full wage can be paid.

Reforms of wages and the methods by which wages are paid have been improved. In the past, wages were primarily paid in the form of piecework contract wages for each individual and contracts with bonuses. This form provided incentive for higher labor productivity but it also strengthened the individuality of the laborer and could, if allowed to continue, change the socialized nature of labor as a result of the lack of concern on the part of farmers for the quality of their work. Therefore, in recent years, the Soviet Union shifted from the payment of contract wages to individuals to the payment of contract wages to collectives and from the payment of contract wages based on the results of each job to the payment of contract wages based on the results of all jobs involved in the production of products, that is, based on the final product, which is abbreviated as the combined contract wage.

Today, following a lengthy period of research and testing, Soviet economists have reached the conclusion that the best form of wages within agriculture is not wages based on work, but wages based on the final product produced. In every case, the payment of piecework wages and the payment of wages based on

the work performed have failed to encourage the farmer to fully concern himself with raising his labor productivity. Only when the income of the farmer is commensurate with the quantity and quality of his labor do wages create full and effective incentive. The payment of wages to groups based on the final product produced is the form of wages that meets this requirement.

#### Developing and Encouraging the Subsidiary Household Economy

The realities of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the countries of eastern Europe in the higher stage of development, the stage of developed socialism, confirm that the subsidiary household economy is an integral part of the socialist economy, one that is based upon and supplements this economy. The subsidiary household economy exists in an objective manner when needed by society and until society is able to replace it. During difficult economic stages, such as during war, during the period of transition or a period of economic restoration, it plays an especially important role.

The new Constitution of the Soviet Union states that each laborer has the right to participate in the subsidiary household economy within agriculture or in the supply of services to society. The only restriction is that no hired labor of any form may be used, including family members. At present, the Soviet Union has 13.7 million collective farm families, 10.8 million state farm families and state cadres, manual workers and personnel and 15 million families of persons in the non-production segment of the economy who are participating in the subsidiary household economy. The land allocated to the subsidiary household economy amounts to 8 million hectares, 3.5 percent of the country's total agricultural land and an average of 0.22 hectare per installation within the subsidiary household economy (each farm household has 0.35 hectare). To encourage the subsidiary household economy, the Soviet Union has adopted the slogan: "The subsidiary household economy is an economy that is run by individuals but for which all society shows concern." The main forms that society's concern takes are: encouraging farmers to accept land so that they can participate in the subsidiary household economy and supplying them with seed, seedlings and livestock to be raised; helping them prepare their fields, transport their products and so forth; farmers are permitted to raise the species of large livestock on the grasslands of farms free of charge; in the collective farms that produce feed for livestock, members have the right to receive part of their wage in the form of this feed at the cost of production and are guaranteed that this feed will be transported to their homes by the farm; and the products of the subsidiary household collective are purchased in quantity under contracts with prices beneficial to farmers.

The concern and assistance described above create three-fourths the total agricultural products of the subsidiary household economy and are the method for gradually bringing the subsidiary household economy within the orb of socialism.

Together with the subsidiary household economy, the subsidiary agricultural economy of the industrial enterprises and agencies has also made significant contributions to the development of Soviet agriculture. It is considered an integral part of the infrastructure of enterprises and the costs of building and operating it are included in the production costs of the enterprise.

In order to develop these various economies, they have constructed at existing enterprises supplemental installations in the subsidiary agricultural economy and give attention when designing new enterprises to equipping them with subsidiary agricultural shops. The enterprises themselves organize the production of these shops to suit their needs for grain and food products.

Besides the tremendous achievements that have been recorded, Soviet agriculture still faces a number of difficulties: the need for meat and dairy products is not being fully met and there is an inadequate supply of vegetables and fruit; in some areas, the sale of grain and food products is still irregular. As pointed out in the report by L.I. Brezhnev at the Plenum of the CPSU (May, 1982), the main reasons for this situation are that the country's natural resources and arable land are not being utilized effectively, the level of mechanization is not high, business skills are underdeveloped, the quality of many kinds of agricultural technical equipment is poor, there is an inadequate supply of chemical fertilizers and pesticides, etc.

To correct these causes and create the conditions for agricultural production to develop more strongly, the Soviet Union has adopted the 1981-1990 grain program. The objectives of and the main guidelines for implementing this program are:

Achieving a stable supply of all types of grain and improving, in a fundamental manner, the diet of the people within a short period of time. In order to achieve this objective, the 1981-1985 five year plan calls for the annual production of 250 million to 255 million tons of cereal grains, 20 million to 20.5 million tons of meat, 104 million to 106 million tons of milk, 37 million to 39 million tons of vegetables and so forth. By the end of 1990, per capita production will reach the following levels: meat: 70 kilograms; fish: 19 kilograms; milk: 330-340 kilograms; eggs: 260-266; vegetable oil: 13.2 kilograms; sugar: 45.5 kilograms and so forth.

Other objectives include: strongly developing agriculture on the basis of achieving a high level of intensive cultivation, comprehensively strengthening the material-technical bases of agriculture and rapidly applying the achievements of science in production; developing, in a balanced manner, the various sectors of the agro-industrial unions and improving the management, the planning and the economic incentives of all the sectors; making comprehensive use of the technological and production potentials of the unions, significantly increasing the returns from capital investments and developing production in a centralized and specialized manner on the basis of broadening intra-sector relations; endeavoring to practice economy and reduce wastes by widely applying advanced techniques in the production, processing and storage of agricultural products; developing the subsidiary agricultural economy at all enterprises and agencies that have the necessary conditions and developing the subsidiary household economy...

More investment capital will be provided so that these measures can be implemented. Under the 1986-1990 five year plan, the investments in the agro-industrial unions will account for about one-third of the total capital invested in the national economy.

Grain is the central issue in both the economic and political plans of the Soviet Union for the next 10 years. The tasks established under the grain program are large and difficult. However, with the correct and creative leadership provided by the CPSU and with the advanced science and technology of the country, the Soviet people will surely successfully complete this program and climb to new pinnacles in agriculture.

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TEN YEARS AFTER THE WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. FORCES FROM VIETNAM (MARCH, 1973):  
ELUSIVE LESSONS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 83 pp 65-70

[Article by Thanh Tin]

[Text] Exactly 10 years after the U.S. aggressor army was forced to withdraw from Vietnam in keeping with the articles of the Paris Agreement, the American press and Western public opinion are again astir with debate over the Vietnam war and its lessons. This is an interesting subject, one that is of much profound and practical significance.

Exactly 10 Years Ago

Following continuous defeats on the battlefield in southern Vietnam and having been dealt a fatal blow in the attempt to escalate the war by the use of B-52 superfortresses against North Vietnam, the American government was forced to sign the Paris Agreement and pledge to withdraw all U.S. and vassal forces from our country. In March, 1973, the final U.S. soldier openly departed from Tan Son Nhat airfield under the supervision of the Four Party Joint Military Commission and in the presence of the International Commission, which included representatives from Poland and Hungary. Obstinate and cunning, the United States left behind thousands of military advisors disguised as civilians and the offices of the military attaches of the U.S. military continued to serve as the agencies commanding the war of aggression, even though the U.S. military command in Vietnam, MACVI, had been disbanded, at least in form.

Although it was forced to withdraw U.S. forces in defeat and at a time when the objectives of the war of aggression were still very far from being achieved, the U.S. government still had the nerve to state that they were withdrawing their forces as a gesture of good will(!), that the objectives they had set for the war had been achieved and that the army of the Republic of Vietnam, that is, the puppet army, was fully capable of bearing the burden of the war(!). The U.S. government instructed the U.S. military to withdraw in truly grand style. Whether they withdrew from airports or military seaports, by air or by highway, from Saigon and Da Nang or Vung Tau and Nha Trang, all officers and men of the U.S. military were clean shaven and wore neatly pressed uniforms that looked like new, starched hats, medals on their

chests and spit-polished black boots. They stuck out their chests and, carrying ceramic elephants as souvenirs, boarded helicopters and ships following ceremonies during which they brought down their unit's flag and saluted the American flag to the accompaniment of the American National Anthem and stirring martial music played by U.S. Navy bands.

History is very impartial. History also sometimes reserves for obstinate reactionary powers a tragic situation filled with irony and mockery.

Only a little more than 2 years later, to be precise, only a little more than 25 months later--in late April, 1975--the more than 5,000 U.S. military personnel disguised as civilians in South Vietnam were forced to flee in disgrace, unable this time to wear neatly pressed uniforms or stick out their chests and try to appear dignified! A strategic analyst of the CIA in Saigon named Francis Snep [Vietnamese phonetics] later called this a panic in which people pushed and shoved one another and fled for their lives, as typified by the disheveled, exhausted and distressed looking Ambassador Graham Martin, who departed from the heli-pad of the embassy-fortress amidst a scene of utmost chaos just in time to escape capture by revolutionary forces whose tanks had begun to move directly into the lairs of the Americans and the puppets.

It has been exactly 10 years since the U.S. Army lowered its flag and went through the motions of disbanding the U.S. military command in South Vietnam. Exactly 10 years ago, together with U.S. forces, the vassal armies of the United States, which consisted of units from South Korea, Thailand, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and so forth, also lowered their flags and withdrew to their countries in defeat and shame. Never before in the 200 year history of America had the United States suffered such a heavy military defeat. On the basis of the withdrawal and then the flight by the U.S. aggressor army, public opinion in America and the West raised the questions: will U.S. political circles learn any useful lessons? What are the profound lessons and experiences that will be lessons for generations? Having encountered difficulties and suffered losses of blood, prestige and strength in this war, did U.S. political circles possess the wisdom needed to move forward, to restore the position and power of America in the post-Vietnam period?

#### The Lessons Continue To Be Learned

Since late March, 1973, there have been thousands of newspaper articles, tens of thousands of memoirs and books and hundreds of research projects concerning America's war in Vietnam and the three countries of Indochina. The United States has used more than a small amount of paper and ink in summarizing the experiences that have been gained; whether much more will be used is a different matter. In the United States, files and materials are stored in a very strict, orderly and very complete fashion and are arranged in a rather scientific and very meticulous manner. Scores of computers have been mobilized so that materials, data, graphs, percentages and so forth are available at the push of a button. The huge archives of the U.S. Defense Department hold a rather complete supply of documents, directives, orders,



charts, maps, pictures, films and so forth related to the war of aggression that have been organized, stored and evaluated in a very detailed and thorough manner.

Yet, it is precisely here that the tragedy of U.S. political circles is revealed. If the huge, very modern war machine of the United States was unable to win victory on the battlefield, how can the very extensive research and academic apparatus of America, with its very scientifically organized materials help the United States to learn correct and precise lessons, practical and useful lessons?

The memoirs of Lyndon Johnson, John Kennedy, Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford, of Maxwell Taylor and Robert McNamara, of Westmoreland and Grant Sharp are considered very valuable. Yet, these personalities only established two requirements for their books. One was the economic requirement, namely, the need to earn for themselves anywhere from several tens of thousands of dollars to a few million dollars by "selling" the reader on the some of the unique materials that only they had as a result of their former positions. The second requirement was to justify themselves in the eyes of public opinion and history, try to exaggerate their strengths, service and achievements in a vain manner and blame their mistakes and crimes on others!

One interesting and comical aspect of this is that the presidents do nothing more than criticize military commanders, calling them military men who understand nothing at all about politics and had no grasp of the objectives of the war; in turn, the military men criticize the political leaders as being stupid and lacking resolve or hesitating and wavering, as having tied the hands of military commanders or preventing them from winning victory. This 10 year long debate has never ebbed and shows signs of going on forever.

Another interesting aspect is that those who directly participated in the war of aggression in Vietnam usually blame the rear area in the United States for all the mistakes that led to the defeat. They denounce the U.S. Congress for being halfhearted and the people of the United States for hating and forsaking U.S. expeditionary forces; they are especially indignant toward the U.S. press, radio and television, which caused an increasingly large portion of Americans to not sympathize with the war and even turn against the very long, very costly and cruel war. Conversely, those who were in the rear in the United States criticize and despise the U.S. war machine, despise the American military uniform and denounce the dangerous "diseases" that the U.S. expeditionary forces brought back from Vietnam: the lack of discipline, drug addiction, racial antagonisms, the refusal to obey commanders, profiteering, refusing to fight, mass desertions and so forth.

When summarizing the experiences that were gained, U.S. political circles are also deeply divided concerning the methods by which the war was waged. Some think that the United States placed too much emphasis on military measures while giving light attention to winning over the hearts and minds of the people, to the economic field, the psychological war and so forth. Other maintain that the United States did not attach appropriate importance to military strength and was controlled by a fear of world opinion and American public opinion. As regards the way in which the war was escalated, some say

that they United States escalated the war too massively, used too many bombs and shells and destroyed too much human life and property, thereby causing widespread hatred; others maintain that the United States escalated the war too cautiously, that it escalated the war with trepidation and sometimes escalated the war and then stopped or de-escalated, thereby giving the opposition time to prepare, to adapt and deal with the latest escalations.

The effort by the United States to learn lessons is continuing. In February, 1983, the UPI news service reported that nearly 100 persons who had participated in the Vietnam war had assembled in Washington to gain experience and learn lessons from this war. Westmoreland and scores of U.S. generals and colonels attended the meeting; a number of U.S. military personnel who were our prisoners, such as Admiral Jim Stockland (10 years ago, he was a captain and U.S. fighter pilot), also participated. The lessons that they drew were as dull, uninteresting and marked by rather deep antagonisms as the lessons they drew 10 years ago!

### Elusive Lessons

The Vietnam war of aggression runs like a black band across the history of the United States. The defeat of the United States in Vietnam was an extremely large national tragedy, one, in can be said, that was unprecedented in the history of America. The defeat brought with it a host of crises: the financial crisis, the economic crisis, the crisis of confidence, the crisis of power and the crisis of strategy, which led to a serious structural crisis. Of course, these crises have their roots in the past, in the development of capitalism into imperialism and are part of the general crisis that has existed for several decades. The extremely serious defeat of the United States in Vietnam has very strongly accelerated the comprehensive decline of American imperialism and brought the general crisis to a new level of development, to the point where, in the post-Vietnam period, the U.S. imperialists are unable to get back on their feet.

Thus, are there any useful lessons that can be drawn for the United States from its towering, heavy defeats in Vietnam?

To begin with, there is the lesson that an unjust war will surely be defeated. In today's times, nations have awakened and wars of aggression waged by imperialists will surely be defeated in the face of the brave struggle of a united nation that has adopted the correct line and is determined to resist foreign aggression in order to win its independence and freedom. There is also the lesson concerning the people against whom the United States waged its war. The United States charged into the war of aggression in Vietnam with an arrogant, pretentious attitude and disdain for the opposition. Kennedy once bragged that the war would be nothing more than a "play period" for U.S. soldiers. They hoped that the next escalation of the war would be the last, that it would bring the opposition to their knees and force them to surrender everywhere! They did not see that this was a confrontation between two opposite powers, two concepts of life, two civilizations and two forces representing the two opposing social systems of our times. Thus, for decades, from the first minute of the war to the last, the United States was constantly being taken by surprise and never once correctly evaluated the opposition.

The computers of the United States and the best minds of the United States were tragically lacking and ineffective in the area of foremost importance, namely, understanding the Vietnamese, the Vietnamese will, the strategic talent of Vietnam, the culture and history of Vietnam.

Another lesson that can be drawn is that concerning the age in which we live. Every war takes place under certain world conditions and at a time when the attitudes, conscience and intelligence of mankind are reaching new levels of development. The war of aggression against Vietnam occurred at a time when old style colonialism had been almost completely destroyed and neo-colonialism had been exposed and dealt proper blows; at a time when the rights of freedom and independence of nations had been confirmed everywhere and awareness of these rights had developed widely across all continents; at a time when superior socialism had become a system that was powerful politically, economically, diplomatically and militarily and so forth. As a result, the isolation of the United States was unavoidable and the strong support of the world people's front for the Vietnamese people's just fight to defend their fatherland was inevitable. This support was comprehensive in nature, encompassing both moral and material support and political and diplomatic support as well as military assistance, economic assistance, financial assistance, assistance in the fields of information and propaganda and so forth. This caused the strength of the Vietnamese to be highly developed as a result of the valuable support of the extremely powerful strength of our times. The United States committed cruel actions in Vietnam and brutally insulted the conscience of progressive mankind. The United States behaved like a sinister medieval power at a time when the world had reached new pinnacles of civilization, consequently, the fact that the United States brought defeat upon itself was consistent with laws.

Another lesson that can be learned is that concerning the length of a war. A war is a class struggle in society that occurs within a certain space and time. Aggressors always way to attack quickly and bring the war to a systematic conclusion. At first, the United States thought that they could destroy the Vietnamese revolution in the space of only a few months. Westmoreland drafted a one and one-half year plan for winning decisive victory. The Americans thought that the "special war" was the magic solution. However, the United States soon had to shift to the "limited war." Then, they had to turn to the war of destruction, which was constantly escalated. This was a long string of defensive, piecemeal strategic policies and measures that had not been projected from the very outset and which, once the opposition had accumulated forces, created a strategic position and took the initiative in delivering decisive blows, forced the United States to bring the war to an end amidst a shameful withdrawal, amidst a thorough defeat which left them with not one piece of armor, not one bit of honor to save... Had the United States been abreast of the times, had it stopped the war at an early date, the defeat it suffered would have been smaller, the outrage against the United States would have been limited in scope and the prestige of the United States would not have fallen so precipitously. In 1966 and 1968, did not George Bundy and McNamara advise the U.S. government that it should accept a kind of "defeat" early and quickly extricate itself from the quagmire at any price in order to avoid a more horrifying and harmful defeat later?

There are countless other lessons that are of much value to the United State. However, U.S. ruling circles are incapable of learning correct lessons. This is the tragedy that lies at the heart of the U.S. social system, that lies in the nature of U.S. ruling circles. Were they capable of learning precise lessons, they would no longer be imperialists! The essence of imperialism is aggression, greed and blindness. They act instinctively because, by nature, imperialism is something without intelligence. When committing aggression as well as when gaining experience, this instinct controls everything. Therefore, despite the 10 years that have passed, they still are unable to open their eyes and see the truth, unable to learn necessary lessons. For the next 10 years, for the next few decades, up until imperialism is destroyed, the ability to seriously learn from experience will continue to be something far beyond their reach. Only the American people, only ordinary citizens and a progressive, enlightened portion of the population that separate themselves from the corrupt reactionary ruling circles can see the truth and point out urgent, useful lessons to the United State.

#### Vietnam and America--Services Performed and Debts Owed

U.S. ruling circles have often lamented that it was history that gave birth to the United States of America but why did history give birth to Vietnam! Why was there that historic confrontation, the tragic consequences of which upon the United States can never be fully measured!

In the relationship between Vietnam and America, one can say that there are services that were performed and debts that are owed.

The services that were performed can be understood in how the war accentuated the position and role of the Vietnamese people in the world, strongly inspired the liberation movement of nations on all continents and strengthened the confidence in inevitable victory of the peoples of the countries waging a determined struggle against neo-colonialism, both old and new. The services that were performed also include the fact that the Vietnamese had an opportunity to understand and establish friendly relations with progressive Americans, with the anti-war movement in the United States; this friendship, which is based on truth and justice, will surely develop and grow with time because we believe that conscience will ultimately triumph in all countries and throughout the world. The service performed for the American people is that this war exposed to them the very soul of U.S. ruling circles, showed them the decadent nature and sinister mind of U.S. ruling circles and, on this basis, established guidelines for the struggle by the people for achieving a more beautiful future, despite the many obstacles and difficulties that are faced. They had an opportunity to realize that a government that commits aggression against another nation inevitably opposes, suppresses and goes against the interests and the vital rights of its own people. This initial understanding is very important because it lays the foundation upon which progressive Americans can chart the course of their long and steadfast struggle for a better life, for democracy and a beautiful social system.

And what are the debts that are owed? They are the debts that U.S. ruling circles still owe to the people of Vietnam and the people of the United States. It is the intention of U.S. ruling circles to evade and ignore these

huge debts. However, history is very impartial. The more that they ignore these debts, the more these large debts will be like a chain shackling their feet; they will bring upon themselves nothing but the retribution and contempt of progressive mankind, including progressive Americans.

Everyone knows that more than 10 million tons of bombs and shells were dropped on Vietnam, the majority in populated areas, thus causing incalculable loss of life and incalculable damage to the environment, to buildings, economic installations, roads, historic ruins, cultural vestiges and so forth at a time when not one Vietnamese shell ever hit the United States. Tens of thousands of tons of chemical poisons were poured on our fields and mountainous forests, causing damage and long-range genetic harm to the environment, to man and other living things. The conscience of ordinary Americans demands that the U.S. government do its share to help heal the wounds of the war in Vietnam and Indochina. Progressive Americans have been and are raising money to build a public health-social facility in the Son My area, where U.S. troops massacred Vietnamese. Progressive Americans have been raising funds to assist a number of production installations operated by veterans who were wounded or disabled by the U.S. imperialists; they are contributing medicine and materials to help orphan camps and hospitals treating persons who suffer from dangerous illnesses caused by U.S. chemical poisons.

The U.S. government also owes countless debts to the American people. They are moral debts that they owe as a result of committing towering crimes and tarnishing the reputation of the United States in the name of the American people. There is also the monetary debt owed as a result of squandering more than 600 billion dollars (according to estimates made by financial experts in Washington) of the taxpayers' money, thereby causing inflation to soar. There is the debt that is owed to millions of U.S. soldiers who were deceived or pushed by them into a decadent, shameful war in which tens of thousands of them died unjustly or were disabled; there is the debt that is owed to the nearly 20,000 U.S. soldiers who were poisoned on the battlefield in Vietnam and whose bodies, even the bodies of their wives and children, bear the scars of this poisoning.

The intention of U.S. political circles to discredit Vietnam, to distort and falsely accuse Vietnam with regard to the Kampuchean issue and the human rights issue is nothing more than the continuation of a criminal policy, of a policy of deception, the purpose of which is to evade the debts owed to the Vietnamese and the people of the United States. In the end, however, the truth will continue to brightly shine and U.S. political circles will be unable to constantly evade their responsibility.

Ten years have passed. Countless nationalities have melted together at the base of the Statue of Liberty of the United States, where, in late 1972, brave soldiers of peace of the United States implanted the red flag with the gold star to express their solidarity with the just fight being waged by the Vietnamese.

U.S. forces left Vietnam. However, the obstinate attitude of U.S. ruling circles and the Vietnam issue still weigh heavily upon U.S. society, upon U.S. political circles. The exercise in gaining experience that the U.S.

government has conducted is both artificial and ironic. Many Americans hope that U.S. political circles will bring themselves abreast of the times for a few moments, look straight and far into the future and adopt reasonable policies so that the Vietnam nightmare becomes part of the distant past and bright prospects are opened for America.

This very reasonable desire is still a distant illusion under the administration of Ronald Reagan.

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